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ABSTRACT

Proceedings of the hearings before the special subcommittee on American Indian education, prepared statements of the witnesses, and additional articles, papers, and publications are included in this report. Statements were presented by an educational specialist, a psychiatrist, and other representatives from the various Indian tribes in Nebraska, Minnesota, and South Dakota. These statements generally describe the conditions within selected Indian communities and the government's effort or lack of effort in alleviating these conditions. Also included in the document are the following: "A Study of the Theoretical Childhood Behavioral Consequences of Dakota, White-American Value Confrontation"; "Whiteman Medicine, Indian Medicine, and Indian Identity on Pine Ridge Reservation"; "Oglala Sioux Model Reservation Program: The Development Potential of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation"; and 5 issues of the Pine Ridge Research Bulletin, in which general characteristics of the Indian population, "A Statistical Analysis of the Oglala Sioux Family Organization," and "Family Planning at Pine Ridge" are covered. Also, a memorandum is included on the Indian Education Needs of the Turtle Mountain Area. Information which has been deleted from this document is available as ED 001 130, ED 003 853, and ED 016 529. (HBC)

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INDIAN EDUCATION

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INDIAN EDUCATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETIETH CONGRESS

FIRST AND SECOND SESSIONS

ON

THE STUDY OF THE EDUCATION OF INDIAN CHILDREN

PART 4

APRIL 16, 1968
PINE RIDGE, S. DAK.

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INDIAN EDUCATION

TUESDAY, APRIL 16, 1968

U.S. SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION
OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,
Pine Ridge, S. Dak.

The subcommittee met pursuant to notice at 2:30 p.m. in Billy Mill's Hall, Pine Ridge, S. Dak., Senator Robert F. Kennedy (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Kennedy of New York, Burdick, and McGovern.

Committee staff present: Adrian Parmeter and John Gray, professional staff members.

STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT F. KENNEDY, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Senator KENNEDY of New York. This is a meeting of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. We have held hearings in different parts of the United States on the problems of Indian education. About 90 percent of all of the witnesses we have heard have been Indians themselves. We have been in the Far West, the South, and the southwestern part of the United States. We have held some hearings in the East, and we are trying to cover as much of this country as possible and hear from the Indians themselves as to what they feel the problems are and what collective measures are to be taken, what steps should be taken, and what they feel about the quality of Indian education. I am the chairman of that subcommittee, and I am delighted to welcome Senator George McGovern from South Dakota who has been so interested in this matter for such a long period of time and is head of the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs; and Senator Burdick from North Dakota who is also interested in this subject. Both of them have been kind enough to join us today.

We have a crowded schedule, and I would like to call the first witness.

Mr. Sam Deloria, do you have a prepared statement?

Mr. DELORIA. Yes, sir.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. You may read your prepared statement or whatever you feel would be the most convenient.

STATEMENT OF SAM DELORIA, DIRECTOR OF THE PLANNING OFFICE, OGLALA SIOUX TRIBE, PINE RIDGE, S. DAK.; ACCOMPANIED BY GERALD ONE FEATHER, NORMAL CAMP DIRECTOR, PINE RIDGE INDIAN RESERVATION

Mr. DELORIA. Thank you. Members of the committee, ladies and gentlemen, we will try to keep this as brief as possible because we know you're in a hurry. Before I begin this prepared statement I would like to read to you a brief case from a statement that was prepared by someone in the Department of Labor on the assessment of the Department of Labor Indian program, and I think the thinking expressed in this particular piece is the root of much of our concern about the programs that are available to Indian people. This is entitled "Relocation."

"Most States cooperate with BIA and other agencies in the relocation plan. This program is reported to have limitations. There is need to motivate the Indian. Successful relocation must convince the Indian his rights in the reservation will be respected. Tribal customs and culture are barriers. So are lack of English, lack of skill, and lack of appreciation of our culture. Our best hope is to take a program like Headstart which teaches children to learn our way of life. Not much can be expected from the old Indian who refuses to change his ways. Despite these obstacles, there is a measure of success."

Senator KENNEDY of New York. When was that put out?

Mr. DELORIA. There is no name or date. It was prepared a month or so ago. I think the point is obvious. With this attitude about Indian people, Indian culture, and customs being a barrier, we start out with three or four strikes against us.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I couldn't agree with you more. I think it's obviously a disgraceful document and it's most unfortunate it's been issued by the U.S. Government.

Mr. DELORIA. Well, it's too bad, but I think somebody slipped up. This is the kind of thing we're concerned about.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. It indicates the philosophy at least in some areas. Could you give us your background?

Mr. DELORIA. Yes, sir. At the moment I am director of the planning office of the Oglala Sioux Tribe here in Pine Ridge. Prior to that time, I was assistant director of the Indian community action program, University of South Dakota, which was funded by OEO to work with community action programs and organizations in this north-central area.

Mr. ONE FEATHER. I am normal camp director for Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Are both of you Indians?

Mr. DELORIA. Yes, sir.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What are you?

Mr. DELORIA. Standing Rock.

Mr. ONE FEATHER. Oglala Sioux of Pine Ridge.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. You went to Yale University?

Mr. DELORIA. Yes, sir. I am one of the rare exceptions: I was able to get into school. I understand some of us went to Harvard, sir.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. I was set up with that.

Mr. DELORIA. I would like to begin with a word about the term "Indian education." It brings to mind many other items in our modern world—like "flower arranging" and "computer programing." These terms bring a nod of the head, a look of understanding, yet almost no one can really explain what they consist of, what body of knowledge they represent or what skills they require. I would begin by saying that "Indian education" exists in the minds of some educators, representing not a distinct branch of a proven and well-established science but only the academician's instinct for devaluing his science by coining more terms. I don't really think it means anything.

The advent of the term "Indian education" signals the dawn of a new era for Indian people in their relationship with the establishment. Indians in Indian communities and professional Indians-at-large like Gerald and myself seem to be moving from fighting the lethargy of the BIA branch of education—where GS-11's and above averaging 27 years of service with BIA, according to Carl Marburger, former, short-lived, head of education for the Bureau—to struggling against the mainstream, downstream current of expertise. During the early days of OEO we speculated on an ESL component in an adult education program; that is, teaching expertise as a second language.

Indian experts are invading Indian communities throughout the country, recruiting teams of wise old men to serve on school boards. Applications for demonstration schools are filling the mails.

Please do not think that I am against schools with local school boards, against demonstration schools in general, or unappreciative of the committee's long efforts on behalf of better education for the Indian people. I am simply trying to point out that much of the current excitement revolves around something the Indian people have been trying to say for many years—that Indian people in the communities should have a voice in their schools and in their affairs in general. This notion unfortunately did not gain currency through expression by the Indian people, but through accepted experts in "Indian education." The new directions of legislative and administrative interest are staked out by an informal, yet well organized and self-perpetuating group of experts, not the Indian people themselves. We don't seem to be able to lead the way. That seems to be done by experts who have the proper ears in Washington. We are occasionally used as authenticators, never as originators.

The demonstration school fad, however commendable its goals and successful its methods, is merely the latest in a series of gimmicks which have the effect of postponing the basic issue. We now have school boards made up of first grade dropouts, illiterates teaching the three R's to other illiterates, everyone with a problem working with others with the same problem, but there always seems to be a Ph. D. or a doctor of education always hovering in the background and taking the bows.

To me, the issue in Indian education is not demonstration schools, they prove nothing—the issue is, do Indian communities have rights with respect to the schools? It would seem that there would be no alternative to a policy of local responsibility for schools. Indian schools now are administered by people who are independent of the community for prestige, status, funds, promotion, evaluation, and reporting. They fail in their job by any definition. Can locally administered schools do any worse? I submit that they cannot for very long. Statistics are plentiful that a loss of pride and self-image is at the root of many of the problems of the Indian people. Is it not reasonable to assume that a school which is locally responsible will eventually become part of the community and serve to regenerate its pride?

A demonstration school adds nothing to "Indian education." Either it is the right of a community to run its own schools or it is not. If it is their right, then they will do it well or poorly depending upon a number of factors, and the job for Congress, for all helping agencies, is to assist the communities in running them well, as it is with any community. If it is not the right of the Indian people to run their own schools, then we should evidently line up like applicants to save the children, waiting for an Indian expert to adopt us so that we may go through the motions of being involved. A demonstration school as it now exists is a game, damaging in the long run to the self-respect of the Indian people.

To determine whether a community has rights with respect to the education of its children, it is necessary to define the role of the school in the life of the community—a task which has not been done—and which is at the root of many misunderstandings between educators and the Indian people.

The school is an agency of socialization in a community. It teaches what "we" do and do not do, it teaches who "we" are and where "we" come from, it also adds the polish and the conversational niceties which make a pleasing and functional social being.

The school is also a trade school, whether manually or intellectually oriented, apart from the intrinsic values of the socialization process. It teaches basic bread-and-butter skills which will give the student the best possible preparation to earn the material advantages which the society has to offer.

In the special case of the Indian community, the school has defined its own socialization role as one of acculturation—or, socialization "for keeps." The effect has been to alienate the student from his family, community, heritage, culture, and finally, of course, himself. With the confused, reeling, terrified person that is left, the school has trouble communicating the bread-and-butter material, little wonder. What more symbolic demonstration of the destruction of identity could be found than Dr. Bryde's point that Indian children, regardless of culturally based tests, test higher than the national norm until sixth grade—the onset of puberty—when their scores begin to drop.

Is it a matter of public policy to pursue the destruction of the self-image of children? Is it a matter of public policy to teach in the schools, without debate, the "intrinsic" values of western culture? No one wants to take the values of the majority away, but these values should, of course, be allowed to stand on their own merits. The point is obvious, the danger to the rights of all implicit but perhaps not menacing, the practice persists. High school pushouts range from 45 percent to 70 percent and far too many Indian children do not seem to care whether they live or die.

Two-thirds of the reservation is 25 years of age or younger. Half of the reservation is 15 or younger. The problems in this area and many others are just beginning.

Why haven't the tribes beaten down the doors in Washington, demanding a voice in education? Perhaps too many tribal leaders remember their introduction to school was when they were kidnapped by a policeman from their family home. Tribal leaders tend toward cynicism, being the oldest hands in the country in dealing with the Federal Government—this year it is education, next year it may be farming again, ranching, relocation, factories * * * perhaps the greatest reason is the relationship with the Federal Government which gives rise to the greatest cynicism. It's called "you be the dumb guy and I'll protect you".

Indian tribes operate in a reverse carrot-on-a-stick situation. The implied and explicit threat is: "the minute you guys stop looking like clowns we'll terminate the whole tribe." No tribe can afford to ignore the sad experience of termination and its effects on the people—hence no tribe can enter into a meaningful relationship with the Federal Government, or with itself or anyone else for that matter, without running the risk of annihilation. In such a coercive situation, "progress" as defined by the community is impossible.

In order to come to terms with so-called "Indian education" we must first, I believe, admit that for the time being we are running trade schools simply teaching skills necessary to equip a person to make a living, whether it is as a craftsman or university president. People who are concerned with survival, as individuals or as a group, do not have time to indulge in the luxuries of education as an intrinsic value, or "something that stays with you all your life"—they are concerned with survival. As Indian communities begin to get back on their feet we can worry about the eternal truths that we teach in the school; in the meantime let us learn how to read and write and be frank about why it is important bread and butter.

If the school is going to equip Indian young people to live in the world and adapt to whatever circumstances he finds, it will first have to deal with Indian culture in a meaningful way through Indian community control of the schools. No amount of abstruse theories taught to Indians by non-Indians is going to do the job that has to be done. Obviously only Indians can regain their own pride—can you imagine an Indian saying "thanks to that white man, I now have my pride, without him I would still be somewhat lacking in self-respect". The chances of success for our BIA branch of pride to be passed out after the form is sold out is very remote.

We must take advantage of expanding concepts of training and certification. Manpower programs under community control must be available to reservations, despite their slightly higher cost per trainee. The community must be free to experiment, and the much discussed "options" must be made real through a stable and flexible source of assistance. Many of the new programs through the delegate from the Office of Economic Opportunity in the legislative department are not available to tribes simply because we cannot supply enough trainees for the specialized program, so we are always ruled out unless we take part in the type of program that is so large that we will lose our identity. This was the fear of the tribes from the beginning, for instance, the Yankton Tribe was forced into a community organization rather than applying for a community action program through the indulgence of OEO. The first few years they operated within the county where the reservation was located. Now they are in a seven-county area where they don't have a chance of getting these specialized services they need.

Above all, we must see Indian communities as intrinsically valuable, worthy of preservation, worthy of attention, and not as pawns in a thousand games of self-perpetuation. Indian communities should have the opportunity to run the best or the worst, the most bizarre, most imaginative, or most orthodox school systems in the country. Thank you.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Let me ask you, what would you do with the BIA school here on the reservation?

Mr. DELORIA. I think probably work on some kind of contractual arrangement with local people or local groups of people who are organized to operate such a school.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Do you have any control at all over how it's operated or whether it's operated well or badly at the present time?

Mr. DELORIA. No.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Do you think that the unemployment here of some 45 percent and the life expectancy on the reservation of about 42 years, as compared to over 70 for the white population across the United States are also factors?

The health conditions and the question also of jobs being available at the end of a child's education, would you have some comment to make on that?

Mr. DELORIA. Yes. I don't have the figures at hand, but I think it is around 60 percent of people, this is from a sample taken across the reservation, around 60 percent of the people who have been trained in some skill are not now using that skill, so that training alone obviously is not enough.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. It seems to me that an awful lot of Government programs both here and elsewhere train people for jobs that do not exist. I have recommended a new piece of legislation which would give tax incentives to businesses to locate on Indian reservations specifically and in areas close to the Indian reservations. Don't you think it is necessary to have industry in surrounding areas so that Indians have places to work?

Mr. DELORIA. I think this is a very important part of the job, and I think the tax incentive suggestion would be a very good one.

Mr. ONE FEATHER. I also think there needs to be development not only like this, but some type of small business operation to give Indian people an option for self-development.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What it finally comes down to, from your statement, obviously, is that people want control over their own lives. What we have done over a period of time is put the control in the hands of the white man. The controlling white man's culture, history, and outlook on life is the best, and I gather from what you say that perhaps people can argue that, but it is certainly open to question.

Mr. DELORIA. I think that if some way could be found for the land base to be preserved so that Indian communities can have a place to live and grow, everybody will be able to relax and develop a much better approach and a much better attitude toward themselves and toward the resources available. If we live constantly under the threat of losing our land and ending up, all 11,000 of us, living in the Sioux addition part of Rapid City for the rest of our lives, naturally we are not going to be able to devote our full attention to doing the job that has to be done.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Really it's almost like a condition of being owned by the white man and by the Federal Government, the Federal Government being able to decide and determine your own destiny and having a tremendous club over the head of the people, whether it be education, jobs, or whatever.

Mr. DELORIA. Yes.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Thank you. Your testimony has been very eloquent, very frank, and very candid. Senator Burdick may have something to ask of you.

Senator Burdick. Just one question. I was struck by your statement that the abilities of Indian children rate higher than the average children in the United States until they get through the sixth grade. In other words, about halfway through their normal educational period. What is the difference in the type of control and direction of education over the first 6 years as against the last 6 years that would explain that dramatic difference that takes place in the performance of those youngsters after they go beyond the sixth grade?

Mr. Deloria. I think Father Bryde could make a better guess on that than I could. My interpretation has been that the school system doesn't change, but about this time as the child is getting about 12 or 13 he is beginning to, as all people do at that age understand more of the environment. I think it's at that time that the child really realizes, and it hits him, that the school is driving a wedge between him and the family and his whole community. This is my interpretation and it's just a guess, but Father Bryde may have some other ideas on that.

Senator Burdick. In other words, they seem to be lacking motivation after they reach the high school level?

Mr. Deloria. I think so. I am always afraid of the word "motivation," and this is one of the things in the Labor Department——

Senator Burdick. What do you call it?

Mr. Deloria. Well, motivation seems to be the term you use to describe that quality in someone else that leads him to do what you want him to do. If he does what you want him to do, he is motivated. If he does what you don't want him to do, he is not motivated, and this seems to be the problem. Indian people are motivated to do many things. I think that the real split comes at this point where they're motivated more in terms of self-protection to such an extent, and the school threatens this, threatens themselves, their identity, so that the self-protection takes precedence over the achievement in the school. They are two different worlds completely, and you have to choose between the two. That's why I didn't go to Harvard.

Senator Kennedy of New York. I want to thank you. It's just a different culture, different outlook on life; and when the child—young boy or girl—gets to the age of 12 or 13 it suddenly descends on them. It seems to me not quite motivation. We all have it whether we are Indian or white, we like to be motivated to improve ourselves or have better education for our children or whatever, but because of the tremendous conflict and the fact that the Indian is always the bad man and the white man is always the good man, that's drummed into him and by the age of 12 or 13 he suddenly realizes he is not wanted. That is what we have done on our side. Thank you.

We would like to call the next witness, Mrs. Leona Winters. Would you give us your background first?

STATEMENT OF MRS. LEONA WINTERS, CHAIRMAN, EDUCATION COMMITTEE AND TRIBAL COUNCILWOMAN, WANBLEE, S. DAK.

Mrs. Winters. I am Mrs. Leona Winters from Wanblee, and I am chairman of the education committee and representative to the tribal council and district vice chairman.

On behalf of the tribe and the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council of the Pine Ridge Reservation, I want to tell you of the educational problems of the Sioux people of this reservation.

Rather than deal in generalities about these reservation problems which are hard to group, I will take a concrete example of one community's educational and educationally related problems—that of the community I know best—Wanblee. The issues and problems dealt with in this particular example are not unique to this community but find parallels all over the reservation. We are pleased with your interest in the educational problems of the American Indians and hope that you will be able to bring about the kinds of changes that are needed.

The problems that we face in our community are many. Although we are aware that your immediate concern is Indian education, we would like to take advantage of this rare opportunity to bring to your attention some of the other pressing problems which we cannot alleviate without the assistance of our governmental agencies at all levels. These problems will be discussed in the following order: Education, health, housing, public facilities, and economic conditions.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. May I interrupt? I am going to put your prepared statement into the record. I wonder if it would be helpful if you told us in your own words what it's like to live in Wanblee and what the problems of education are. You have lived there and you describe to us what the people feel.

Mrs. **Winters**. Well, I have lived there for 20 years.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I wouldn't pay any attention to the statement, you just tell us about it.

Mrs. **Winters**. We have lots of dropouts, because it is a hundred miles from home and——

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Why so many dropouts?

Mrs. **Winters**. They don't like to leave home.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I see.

Mrs. **Winters**. No matter what kind of home they have, it's still their home. And in the last year, we have had 182 children attending, and in the past—1958 to 1968 there were 116 children graduated at the Wanblee day school. Also out of 116 only 14 have graduated from high school so far.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. So there are 116 who have finished grade school, but only 14 have finished high school?

Mrs. **Winters**. That's right. Out of that we have one trained registered nurse.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Only one of them in all?

Mrs. **Winters**. Yes. And 85 school-aided children in the district last fall, and only 27 are presently attending high school. And the closest school is about 30 miles to Interior, and the rest of them are boarding schools—go to Holy Rosary Mission or Pine Ridge.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Do you think if we had a high school there, it would greatly help the problem?

Mrs. **Winters**. Yes. I think it would.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Now, you're doing very well. Please continue.

Mrs. **Winters**. There are about 30 percent of our boys away from home—about 8 percent of them are in the Armed Forces who dropped out of school and some are in the Job Corps, so 65 percent of them are still in the community.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Do you know what percent the unemployment rate is in your community?

Mrs. Winters. There is no employment.

Senator Kennedy of New York. There is no employment at all?

Mrs. Winters. No; no employment.

Senator Kennedy of New York. How many people live in Wanblee?

Mrs. Winters. I would say about 250.

Senator Kennedy of New York. And nobody has a job?

Mrs. Winters. The only ones who have are the children who are working in NYC and are Government employees and are future aides.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Have you ever had anybody that has graduated from college?

Mrs. Winters. No; I haven't.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Has——

Mrs. Winters. You mean from my family?

Senator Kennedy of New York. No. From the community?

Mrs. Winters. No; we haven't.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Never had anybody graduate?

Mrs. Winters. No. I beg your pardon. Yes. We have Delayed Warrior.

Senator Kennedy of New York. One of the boys there?

Mrs. Winters. One of the boys, yes.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Could you tell us a little bit about the health situation?

Mrs. Winters. There is a clinic in Wanblee which is opened once a week on Thursdays with one doctor and two nurses, and people get sick only on Thursdays. Besides there is no ambulance. The nearest public health hospital is in Pine Ridge, and the people closer to the hospitals, are taking a chance of not having the medical bills paid by the Public Health Service. There are plans of having a doctor and nurse in Wanblee on a permanent basis, but even though the houses of the staff have been built, the facilities are not ready.

Senator Kennedy of New York. How far away do you have to go if you make the mistake of getting sick on a day other than Thursday?

Mrs. Winters. We have got to go a hundred miles. In case of an emergency, we have no ambulance. No ambulance services, so—and when you hire a car in Wanblee, it costs $20 to have somebody bring you to Pine Ridge. And we have no ambulance or no transportation, and about when Dr. Augden—he was the public health doctor here. We had a survey of how many people died on their way from Wanblee to Pine Ridge, how many babies were born right in the community, and, well, different things, and the people—I am in a more of a full-blooded community, and they didn't believe in doctors, and it took us—we worked as a community health committee, and we worked with our people and got them to when they take their babies to the clinic and mothers go when they have to, and all that up to this time.

Senator Kennedy of New York. What are the conditions as far as housing?

Mrs. Winters. And the housing is very poor. We have no running water. We have outside bathrooms, and we have a local merchant there who bought some second-hand trailer houses, which I think were just about ready to be condemned, and moved in there, so we have some people living in there paying $70 to $80 per month. No water and no bathroom facilities at all, and the housing is very poor.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. May I ask what the Bureau of Indian Affairs is saying about these conditions?

Mrs. **Winters**. Well, we have made reports to them, and not very long ago we had a meeting with the superintendent and different officials, and we have brought their attention to all our needs, but so far we haven't had any reply.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. What about—you also have a section here about fire and danger of fire?

Mrs. **Winters**. Yes. And we have no fire facilities. Two homes burned up with all their belongings, everything burned to the ground, because we didn't have fire engines or anything like that. Then we have had prairie fires. The only thing we could do was take a bunch of sacks and shovels out, and those—about 50 men and women and children out to fight the fire until the Interior fire department came out and helped us with the fire.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Have you brought that to the attention of the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Federal Government?

Mrs. **Winters**. Yes, sir.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Have they done anything about it?

Mrs. **Winters**. Time and time again, I don't know yet.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Not as of this moment?

Mrs. **Winters**. I don't know so far.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Maybe they will have a fire engine there when you get home?

Mrs. **Winters**. They will go out and put the ashes out.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. They what?

Mrs. **Winters**. When they get there, they will have the ashes to put out. I forgot to introduce—this is my daughter who is next to me. She is kind of a tribal attorney, but I didn't educate them on nothing, so I just had her sit up here with me so I wouldn't be so nervous.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. You did very well. It is most unfortunate, obviously most unfortunate, that these conditions still exist in the United States today, and that this kind of poverty in which the Federal Government has a major responsibility exists, and continues to exist. We have done nothing about it, so I think it's a great disgrace spending $30 billion in Vietnam to bring democracy to the people. It seems to me we should do more to help the Indians of the United States.

Mrs. **Winters**. And I want to say to that, we have a lot of our American Indian boys who are in Vietnam today, and I think that none of them were ever deferred for going, but the majority of them are all volunteers, and I want to thank you, Senator Kennedy, and I hope we will hear from you in the near future.

Senator **McGovern**. Mrs. Winters, I think we are all grateful for your statement, and it will be most helpful to us. I want to ask you just one question, you mentioned the high dropout rate among the young people in your community and the fact that there are no jobs for them after they leave school. What happens to these people? Do they stay there, or do they move to other communities, what happens to a youngster after he leaves school?

Mrs. WINTERS. We Indian people are very close, and we will never see one another starve, so even if there are no jobs we help one another. We need one another, and so that's how we get along.

Senator McGOVERN. Most of them stay in the community?

Mrs. WINTERS. Most of them stay home, yes, because they don't have the education to get out.

Senator McGOVERN. Thank you very much.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. What do you eat, what are the meals you have on the reservation?

Mrs. WINTERS. Cornmeal.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you very much Mrs. Winters. Your prepared statement will appear here in the record.

(The prepared statement of Mrs. Winters follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MRS. LENORA WINTERS, CHAIRMAN, EDUCATION COMMITTEE AND TRIBAL COUNCILWOMAN, WANBLEE, S. DAK.

On behalf of the tribe and the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council of the Pine Ridge Reservation I want to tell you of the educational problems of the Sioux People of this Reservation.

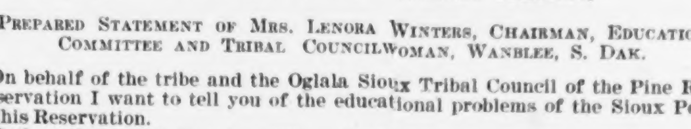
Rather than deal in generalities about these reservation problems which are hard to group, I will take a concrete example of one community's educational and educationally related problems—that of the community I know best—Wanblee. The issues and problems dealt with in this particular example are not unique to this community but find parallels all over the Reserveation. We are pleased with your interest in the educational problems of the American Indians and hope that you will be able to bring about the kinds of changes that are needed.

The problems that we face in our community are many. Although we are aware that your immediate concern is Indian education, we would like to take advantage of this rare opportunity to bring to your attention some of the other pressing problems which we cannot alleviate without the assistance of our governmental agencies at all levels. These problems will be discussed in the following order: education, health, housing, public facilities, and economic conditions.

EDUCATION

There is a great need for an adequate kindergarten through 12th grade school system in Washabaugh County. At this point it is necessary to describe the inadequacies of our present educational facilities.

The Wanblee Day School, operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has a capacity of 150 and at the present time there are 182 children attending. There are only seven rooms, including a mobile unit and a separate building, available for nine grades including kindergarten. The diagram below shows how the available space is being utilized.



The conditions of our public schools are also very bad. We do not believe it is even necessary to enumerate the disadvantages of one and two-room schools. There are at the present time seven such schools under the public school system in the Washabaugh County School District.

Since there is no high school in this county, those who finish the 8th grade have to continue their education away from their homes and community. This has resulted in a very high percentage of dropouts, especially among the Indian children. It is unrealistic and unreasonable to expect children who have just finished the 8th grade to leave their homes and families and adjust to dormitory life as far as 100 miles from home and still continue to be successful students.

The following statistics prove the failure of the present system. From 1958 to 1967 there have been 116 children graduating from the 8th grade at the Wanblee Day School. Of the 116, only 14 have graduated from high school. Also, from the 116 there has been only one who has gone on to advanced training and she is now a registered nurse. Of the 85 high school aged Indian children in the district last fall, only 27% are presently attending high school. The closest school which students from this district are attending is Interior, thirty miles away. About 8% are in the Armed Services or in Job Corps camps and the remaining 65% are in the community. We strongly believe that a high school here would alleviate this problem.

It is our responsibility to be actively concerned with the future of our children in this county. The future we are envisioning is not for Indians alone, but for all the children of the county, regardless of their race or color. We believe that by having a consolidated and integrated system better educational opportunities can be available to all the children of this school aged children of this county.

	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72
Kindergarten to 8th grade	368	411	404	403	386
9th to 12th grade	183	202	217	213	215

We realize that a K–12 school system suitable for the children of this county cannot be built over night. However, we believe that it should not take more than four years to provide such facilities. Meanwhile, one grade should be added each year in temporary units, starting in September, 1968.

We wish to have an accredited high school which would prepare our young people for further training and educational opportunities. However, we would like to emphasize also the importance of practical arts and vocational training for those who are not planning to continue their education beyond high school. This would prepare some young people to stay in the community in small businesses or trades or to work for various organizations on the reservation. It would also make them better prepared for opportunities outside the reservation and for success if they should seek employment elsewhere.

We believe that the new school facilities should be built in Wanblee which is the center of the county, geographically, and has the greatest concentration of population, about 50% in the county. This point will be explored further after discussing some other educational needs of our district.

Education does not begin and end in the classroom. The effects of the family life on the development of the personality and the character of the child are undeniable. And there is, we believe, a direct correlation between the amount of education the parents have and the social success of a family. Yet, in Wanblee, for example, less than 20% of the adult population have finished their high school education.

We strongly believe that an extensive program of Adult Education should be undertaken to make it possible for school dropouts of all ages to continue their education. This program, along with practical educational programs, such as home economics, consumer education, and child care, would help give each home a more suitable environment for the growth of children and make the family a more productive unit within the community.

As mentioned before, due to the fact that Wanblee is the largest community in the county and is located in the center, geographically, it is the most suitable location for the establishment of a modern K–12 school system. This school would be a great step in improving the conditions of the community.

A high school in Wanblee would bring approximately forty new jobs and more than $200,000 additional yearly income for the community. The community would be reinforced by the new people who would hold many of these positions. These well-educated people would be forward-looking and progressive and could make significant contributions to the community.

HEALTH

There is a clinic here in Wanblee which is open only on Thursdays. One doctor and two nurses are on duty on that day. The number of patients the doctor has to see in a few hours usually exceeds fifty people. Obviously the people do not get sick only on Thursdays and, besides, there is no ambulance available to be used in case of emergency. The nearest Public Health Hospital is in Pine Ridge and if the people go to a closer hospital they take a chance of not having their medical bills paid for by the Public Health Service. There are plans for having doctors and nurses in Wanblee on a permanent basis but, even though the houses for the staff have been built, the facilities are not ready for use and there has been nothing done on them for some time.

Our problems of sanitation are great. We do not have access to a disposal ground and considerable amounts of litter have been piling up in the yards. However, disposal grounds alone would not solve the problem. We also need a disposal unit so that regular garbage collections can be made. In addition, there are no water or sewage systems in Wanblee. Many families have to carry their water from a few wells and some have to share outdoor privies. The lack of a garbage disposal unit and water and sewage systems creates considerable health hazards.

HOUSING

The condition of much of the housing in Wanblee needs immediate attention. The privately owned homes are very old and in need of costly repair work. There are one and two room log cabins in Wanblee in which more than ten people live. There are a number of trailers owned by the local merchant which are rented for $70 to $80 per month. The families living in these trailers have to carry their water and pay for it and also share outdoor privies.

We believe that many of the existing houses have to be replaced and that decent housing should be made available at a reasonable cost to those who need it. And those who would like to repair and improve their present homes should be able to receive grants and loans for this purpose.

PUBLIC FACILITIES

One of the greatest threats to the community is the threat of destruction by fire. We do not have any effective means of combating fire. This past winter two families lost everything they owned when their houses burned down. In addition, many acres of grassland have burned. On March 6, 1968, about one square mile of grassland was burned. About fifty men, women and children tried in vain to put out the fire with wet sacks and shovels. Finally the Interior and Kadoka fire units came and extinguished the fire. The threat of fire is especially great during the cold winter months since many families have to burn wood day and night to keep their homes warm.

We have called this need for fire fighting equipment to the attention of agency personnel and tribal officials many times in the past but nothing has been accomplished.

There is no public transportation available within the reservation. Many people need the services available in Pine Ridge, but in order to get there, usually they cannot find a ride at the time they need it and if they have to hire someone they may be charged as much as $20 for a ride.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Not all the human resources available in our community are being utilized. There are about 85 men and 75 women below the age of 55 who are available to work, but there are no jobs of any kind here for them. We realize that many of the services we are asking for require a great deal of money and unfortunately, so far, this community has had to rely more on outside assistance than on our own productivity. Nevertheless we strongly believe that if our government agencies would help bring the services to this community that we have asked for and also encourage private industries to open plants in Wanblee and provide employment and training for the unemployed, we would become self-sufficient. In the long range this would minimize our reliance on outside resources.

At this point we have to go back to another important shortcoming in our educational system. Due to the many deficiencies in our community and lack of necessary facilities as mentioned above, many of the teachers have not stayed in the community long enough to give their pupils the benefit of their experience and education. To ask them to be satisfied with what is available here is to ask too much of them. The only way to solve this and the other problems which face our community is for us to get the facilities we have asked for in this proposal.

I am sure that your questions to follow will bring out more parallel situations and educational problems on this reservation of our Oglala Sioux Tribe. Thank you.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Call Dr. Carl Mindell, our next witness.

I understand this is the first community health program on any Indian reservation in the United States?

Dr. MINDELL. This is the first Indian mental health program.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Would you tell us what your background is, and then either read your prepared statement or you can do whatever is convenient.

STATEMENT OF DR. CARL MINDELL, U.S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE PSYCHIATRIST, PINE RIDGE, S. DAK.

Dr. MINDELL. I am a psychiatrist with the mental health program here in Pine Ridge.

From time to time in the history of our Nation the Indian has come more or less into a spotlight of national attention. This has happened especially when the dominant culture felt that its needs were not being met, for example, when the whites were expanding west and attempting to subjugate the Indian, or later when Indian lands were found to be valuable and treaties were broken as a result. Most recently he is discovered again in short exposés as American life. Also he has found himself caught between changing Government policies with the specter of possible termination of Government services lurking in the background in recent years.

It is our hope that this committee, having amassed data about the Indian people and understanding of them and feeling for them, will be able to institute and support policies which, will not encourage the Indian to be white, but to help him to be more himself and with the opportunities to be what he wants to be.

The Indian person today is undoubtedly molded by a combination of forces including isolation—both geographic and isolation secondary to discrimination and also secondary to a wish to be Indian and not white, the latter usually against the disbelief and protest of the white culture. Other forces include changes in long-standing cultural traditions and practices, also the special relationship with the Government and also living in very poor and hard circumstances.

My testimony will focus on some of the circumstances and psychological problems which have resulted at least in part from this combination of forces. It will go unspoken here but with our strong awareness, the Indian's strength, vitality, and adaptability in coping over a long period of time with these very difficult circumstances.

That the Sioux live in poverty is absolutely unquestioned. In 1965 the average family income was $2,173 while the median income was only $1,607. We have found in 1967 that two out of every three households live below the so-called poverty line of $3,000 per year. It has been stated that 58 percent of the housing is dilapidated and unrenovatable and that almost 50 percent of the population hauls water to their homes from outside sources.

One of the important and striking psychological problems that has come forcefully to our attention is in the adolescents. In general, we feel these young people are beset with feelings of inadequacy, of powerlessness of feeling that they can't do anything well at a time in life when they should be feeling they can do everything well. Their vocational aspirations are very low in general, and their motivation to achieve is far below their potential and capability. For example, their educational achievement, relative to the national norms, drops below the norms at about the sixth and seventh grades; whereas before this their achievement level was above the national norms. Also, the Indians' school dropout rate of 60 percent on a national scale is much higher than for other groups which average 23-percent dropouts. It has been shown that there are strong associations between low achievement and feelings of powerlessness and of social isolation.

While educational levels are rising, they are still low. The median amount of schooling for the Sioux population is 8.8 years compared to 9 for the Negro population and 12 for the white. However, only 1.3 percent of Indians have finished college compared to 4.7 percent for Negroes and 9.9 percent for whites.

Possible work roles and opportunities are very limited. The unemployment rate on the reservation for men is a staggering 33 percent. When we look at the relationship between employment and educational level we find that among high school graduates, almost 14 percent are unemployed. Looking at this relationship from another viewpoint, almost two of every three high school graduates occupies the lowest occupational status jobs. If we look at those people who have received vocational or college training we find that of the potential labor force, 75 percent of men and 58 percent of women are either not working or ar not using their training in their work. This means, too, that there are more opportunities for women to use their training here than for men.

To look briefly at some specific mental health problems and possible mental health problems, we will note that the suicide attempt rate is more than twice the national average, that the delinquency rate for children between 10 to 17 is almost nine times the national rural average, that problems with the use of alcohol are extensive, that many prepubertal children sniff gasoline for its intoxicating effects, that almost one in every five adolescents have no adult man in their family, and that the number of children in foster homes here is almost five times the national rates.

I want to emphasize that most of the problems mentioned in this brief statement are not secondary to Indian-white differences but are secondary to circumstances mentioned earlier. Our job is to help the Indian develop his strengths—strengths which make middle-class white America look culturally deprived—for example, an interest in people rather than things, a strong feeling of belonging, of a need to share with others, of dignity in harsh circumstances, and of measuring a man, not by what he has or looks like or says, but by what he is.

If our exposés, and services, and committees do not have this as their goal—namely, to allow the Indian person to develop his own potential, but rather take the course only of more things or more services—we will be much to blame.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Very good. Would you summarize in a sentence or two of what the white man has done as far as the Indian is concerned?

Dr. MINDELL. I think the main underlying—there are many problems and it's hard to separate them and say this is more important, but I think one very important problem is that all services come from one or two agencies, and I think if you have money, one of the things that money does is let you look to more places for services, and you don't become dependent on this service or that service. When people are poor and they have only one agency or one service to go to, it's almost "stacked in the cards" that people have to become dependent on that kind of service, on that kind of agency. I think we should also stress the specter of possible termination of Government services always in the background, and it's a very important specter. As Mrs. Leona Winters said earlier, people don't want to look too good when it's possible that whatever they have will be taken away from them if they look real good.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you.

Senator MCGOVERN. In that sense, Doctor, the termination proposal which was designed to remove the Indian from any Federal responsibility is actually delayed today to when Indians can become more self-sufficient; is it not?

Dr. MINDELL. It may be so in Washington, but I think that here that people feel the possibility strongly.

Senator MCGOVERN. My point was that the talk about the termination and the uncertainty about what the Federal relationship would be rather than enhancing the self-reliance of Indian people actually delayed that?

Dr. MINDELL. I am sorry; exactly.

Senator MCGOVERN. That is in fact what has happened?

Dr. MINDELL. Agreed.

Senator MCGOVERN. I thought Senator Kennedy made a good point in a question he directed to Mrs. Winters about the relationship of job opportunities and the hope of economic and career opportunities to the performance of students in school. A student who can't look forward with some reasonable hope of a career after he graduates or an opportunity for a useful life, doesn't that help to explain the falling off in academic performance and the dropping out of school entirely which takes place in these youngsters when they get in junior high and high school?

Dr. MINDELL. I think if kids look around and they see that the adults important to them have powerless positions, in other words, they are always in low-status positions, and this just can't help but lower a child's vocational aspirations, and this is very true here. I think that the dropout rate is also related as you indicated very much today.

Senator BURDICK. Doctor, Mrs. Winters testified that in the Wanblee area there was no ambulance, and there was not very much in the way of health services. I know you are a psychiatrist, but you also are from the Public Health Service. What are the facts about this situation?

Dr. MINDELL. First, I think the facts are that we have—let me start out by saying we have inadequate funds and that you could be helpful in helping the Public Health Service, I believe, to get more funds. For example, for the kind of things Mrs. Winters was talking about like sewage problems, water problems, things of this sort. There isn't enough money in 21 projects to provide the kind of basic health needs that are needed, which every person deserves and should have. Let me say that this coming August it is planned that there will be a clinic in Wanblee staffed by a physician and a nurse, a Public Health nurse, and it should be this August.

Senator Burdick. Well, my fellow Senators, it's a question of money in some respects.

Dr. Mindell. In some respects.

Senator Kennedy of New York. I don't want to suggest anything further, but let me ask you what the infant mortality rate is?

Dr. Mindell. I can't answer that.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Are there any figures on it, do you know?

Dr. Mindell. There are: I don't have them.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Could you furnish them for the record. The infant mortality rate for the reservation as a whole, and the infant fatality rate for Wanblee?

Dr. Mindell. Wanblee. I will try to get them. Is that all?

Senator Kennedy of New York. Yes, that's it. Thank you very much.

The Chair calls Rubin Robinson.

Are you Rubin Robinson?

STATEMENT OF RUBIN ROBINSON, MEMBER, SOUTH DAKOTA INDIAN COMMISSION, AND NATIONAL PRESIDENT, WORKING INDIANS CIVIL ASSOCIATION

Mr. Robinson. I am Rubin Robinson, Flandreau Santee Sioux. I am on the South Dakota Indian Commission. I am national president of the Working Indian Civil Assocation, and am a former teacher in the Federal school. I have a few facts and figures and observations which have been made, and I am just going to pass them to you. I also have some supplementary material which I would like to go through, and out of which I will read to your committee.

We know that the Indian is not the most studious individual in the world, but one thing we do know, he is the most studied individual in the world. The problems of Indian education are many. Ten percent of the American Indians over the age of 14 have had no schooling at all. Nearly 60 percent have less than eighth grade education. Half of our Indian children do not finish high school today. Even those Indians attending school are plagued by limiting barriers, by isolation in remote areas, by lack of tradition and academic achievement. Standard schooling and vocational training will not be enough to overcome the educational difficulties of the Indian. More intensive and imaginative approaches are needed. To do an appropriate job a teacher should have full understanding of the indigenous culture of the Indian. Too often we find that new teachers have not had sufficient indoctrination in Indian problems. Many new teachers arrive with preconceived ideas about instructional processes. Lacking adequate background, some teachers find it impossible to reach the Indian student.

I have a few recommendations, and in this portion here I am not going to read them all. As I said, this will be submitted to your committee. I might mention a few important ones here. To help make the Indian school a vital part of the Indian community, an Indian school board for Federal aid in schools should be established. School board members selected by their communities should receive whatever training is necessary to enable them to carry out their responsibilities. School boards would eliminate the closed door meetings of the various Government committees that have denied the Indian people, Indian resident, the freedom of communications. Often these concensus seekers behind closed doors are exposed to constant temptation to realize only those findings that suit their purposes. I think this school board would be a buffer to all this. I might add on there, I might be thinking here ahead of myself, I would like to say that about 2½ years ago I wrote to the local area director, and I made this very statement or suggestion. His reply was this could not be done because we already have personnel who are doing this type of work, and it would be a duplication of service. But since then there must be other people who think this should be done, so in the presidential release on Indian education this is one of the things that will come about. One of the other recommendations here is, I think, that the curriculum in Indian schools should be designed to educate the Indian for the world in which he lives and particularly give him pride and cultural background. Sufficient funds should be provided to extend and improve education on all fronts. Particularly in the area of school scholarships.

Special care should be exercised in the selection of counselors and teachers for Indian students and adequate compensation be paid to attract and retain the best possible personnel. Often a definite communication problem exists between the Indian student and the non-Indian counselor who knows little of Indian culture and makes judgments with his own middle-class values. In the case of special problems, a large amount of uneasiness could be alleviated by the presence of an educated tribal leader or of former teachers.

I think we should start our children early in school. We should have remedial scholastic and kindergartens. Major efforts should be made to correct the truancy and dropout problems. Rural schools should conduct summer schools for students who are deficient in credits. This deficiency is the reason for many of the dropouts from the high schools.

The problems raised by placing children in boarding schools should be in terms of age, emotional stability, and consideration of home life. Many boarding schools are inadequate to meet the needs of the problems the students have, because of this inadequacy to meet the needs of the problems the students have, because of this inadequacy many types of behavioral patterns have been created with which the schools are unable to cope with.

In summary I would like to say that the nonorientated person dealing with the young Indian is handicapped because he fails in his attempt and realizes that the Indian people who live differently think differently. In many cases Indians come out of extreme isolation. They have lived in abject poverty. They have had a high disease rate until recently. Each tribe has a distinct culture. The young Indian is frequently handicapped by lack of individual competitiveness. His concept of time is another source of difficulty. This particular type of Indian still thinks in terms of the here and now and has relatively little understanding of long-range planning. Because of all this the young Indian starts out with the lower economic motivation which is frequently mistaken for laziness. As a former teacher in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, I firmly believe that this is the area in which greater emphasis must be placed if these young students are to be appropriated into a more progressive society. This should be started early in the young student's life and this should not wait until he becomes a senior which is done in most of our boarding schools. In our Indian boarding schools most of the guidance personnel are high salaried babysitters. They should be more concerned in long-range academic and vocational orientation programs so that the student becomes indoctrinated in the fact that there are better things in life and goes to work for them. Thank you.

Senator KENNEDY of New York. Thank you very much.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Robinson follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RUBIN ROBINSON, MEMBER, SOUTH DAKOTA INDIAN COMMISSION, AND NATIONAL PRESIDENT, WORKING INDIANS CIVIL ASSOCIATION

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has grown into a vast bureaucracy with 22,000 employees regulating the daily lives of 380,000 subjects on reservation throughout the country.

Despite the appropriation of $1.5 billion over the past six years, the U.S. Indian still lives in shocking poverty. He has the highest rate of unemployment, the lowest per capital income, and the steepest death rate. The Indians remain at the bottom of the economic ladder, live in the poorest housing and suffer chronic poverty. This is a clear indictment of past programs and policies pursued by the Bureau.

During 1965, more than 16,000 Indian children between the ages of 8 and 16 were not enrolled in school. Half were forced to forego schooling because of a lack of facilities.

The Indian should no longer be denied the equal opportunities open to all in a free society. The Indian should be freed from unnecessary bureaucratic entanglement and outdated concepts and allowed to take their long-awaited rightful place in our national life.

Many knowledgeable persons believe that Bureau school systems are at least equivalent, and sometimes superior, to public systems in the local areas, in terms of physical plants, instructional materials, and qualifications of staffs. Despite these qualifications, however, it is also believed that Bureau schools do not provide adequate basic education or preparation for adult life for the Indian student. No explanation for this paradox is currently available. Observers of the situation of Indian youth have made the following observations concerning the educational and economic problems of Bureau school students compared with those of public school students:

1. Bureau secondary schools have much higher dropout rate than have public schools.
2. Bureau school students do not perform as well as public school students on standardized educational achievement tests.
3. Bureau school graduates have greater difficulty in meeting the standards for acceptance by colleges and universities.
4. Bureau of school graduates have greater difficulty in meeting the qualifications for entry into technical and semiprofessional schools (e.g., nursing and technical-vocational courses and schools).
5. Bureau school students and graduates have unusual difficulty in finding and holding reasonable and suitable employment.
6. Although financial support for higher education is available, few Bureau high school graduates seek postgraduate education or training. This is especially surprising for outsanding Indian high school athletes who fail to continue their educational and athletic careers.

These situations do not seem to be related to deficiencies in basic abilities and aptitudes. Indian youths appear to be quite similar to the general population of the United States in terms of academic aptitudes and mechanical aptitudes.

These observations and conclusions have been made by persons familiar with the situation of Indian youth, but few empirical data are available to describe definitively the educational and economic status of Indian youth. Therefore, there appears to be a need for a sound program of research so that the problem can be analyzed, discrepancies that may exist between the Bureau educational systems and their effectiveness can be understood, and a basis for planning required changes in the system can be provided.

These are some of the underlying factors confronting the educational policy as it exists. A thorough and comprehensive analysis should be made to upgrade Indian education.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. John Buckanaga.

STATEMENT OF JOHN BUCKANAGA, EDUCATIONAL SPECIALIST, U.S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE, RED LAKE, MINN.

Mr. **Buckanaga.** Mr. Chairman, I feel very insecure for three reasons in coming here. One, I am a Chippewa Indian; No. 2, I am completely surrounded by the Sioux Indians; and No. 3, I am from Minnesota.

Senator **Burdick.** We have Chippewa and Sioux friends in North Dakota both.

Mr. **Buckanaga.** Yes. Therefore, I am going to demand equal time.

In Minnesota we have approximately 30,000 Indian citizens. Of this figure, approximately 20,000 reside on or near Indian reservations. The remaining 10,000 have migrated to the urban or off-reservation towns and cities in search of employment.

Historically, we have 10 separate reservations all created by congressional action beginning in 1854 and ending in 1893.

Because of congressional enactments, the educational trends and systems have been greatly affected either through a direct or indirect manner.

In 1936 the Federal Government turned "Indian education" over to the State of Minnesota. Gradually, Bureau of Indian Affairs withdrew their services including some financial assistance. Despite education improvement, the Indian of Minnesota, as do Indian citizens throughout the Nation, continues to have critical and severe problems in the area of education at all levels. A 1964 survey by concerned educational agencies have indicated that the average educational level of Minnesota Indians is 8.1, whereas, the average non-Indian nationally is well beyond 11.5. Special emphasis should be stressed to bridge this educational gap in the shortest possible time.

Our people are also faced with other problems in substandard housing, employment, law and order, and State and county officials, health, welfare and many others; and, Mr. Chairman, I would like to just summarize some of the recommendations we have. I realize you're pressed for time.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. I will put your whole statement in the record in any case.

Mr. **Buckanaga.** Yes.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. Everything you have here will go into the record.

Mr. **Buckanaga.** We would like to recommend continued action and stress on preschool education, and the creation and establishment of child development centers in the Indian community level. We would like to recommend and encourage the Headstart program for all Indian children ages 4 to 6 years old. We also recommend and encourage the establishment of kindergartens, and that it be mandatory in the future of all Indian children.

I would like to emphasize special training programs in colleges and universities which, in a sense, would assist the special emphasis in attracting young people into teaching professions. We also would like to stress teacher-aide funds to utilize the young Indian people as teacher aides in secondary schools. We would also like to stress school board education, and, I believe, I can honestly say the present school board in Minnesota Indian communities are "rubber stamps" to education authorities and officials of the State. From the Federal Government, we would like the expansion and continuation of the Neighborhood Youth Corps because we feel the young students gain opportunities to continue their education at least until they graduate. In higher education we would like an increase in the appropriations of existing Federal and State funds to subsidize qualified Indian applicants so that they may enter higher institutions, colleges, universities, and so forth. We would also like to encourage special courses in Indian heritage, culture, Indian language and Indian history. We would like to also encourage housing for teachers in communities where they teach, and we would like to continue by encouraging funds to update the schools. Many of our schools and institutions are relatively old being constructed many years ago, and because of higher standards of education, we have fallen behind. We also would like to encourage judicial funds and subsidies to update our curriculum as far as audiovisual aids are concerned, textbooks, supplies, and materials, We would also like to encourage the increase of Indiam curriculums in relation to health problems. I believe that the U.S. Public Health Service will continue to say that the lifespan of the Indian of America is 42 years of age compared to 65 years of age for the rest of the Nation.

I think this special emphasis should be placed in this area to develop criteria for other local schools and local conditions. And, finally, I would like to stress this last point. I think you have heard some more eloquent speakers before me, and this concerns graduates of higher education. It is an area of critical and vital concern to many Indian leaders, and to many of our graduates of fine colleges and universities. We are told and encouraged to receive a higher degree of education by Government, State, and other non-Government agencies, labor, business and industry and so forth; but upon obtaining a degree of certification of higher learning our graduates are placed in positions in which there is limited hope of advancement. Several Indian graduates, however, are gainfully employed in the field of education in many of the area public schools.

Our primary concern lies in the area of leadership development of our Indian graduates. Indian graduates are often placed in menial or second-, or third-, or fourth-class positions, but never in the area of decisionmaking or policy development. We speak in the area of Federal agencies such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Indian Health, Department of Labor, Department of Agriculture, Housing and Urban Development, and the Office of Economic Opportunity. Mr. Chairman, I would stress—this being one of your goals—that the Indian graduate be placed in a position of policymaking, decisionmaking, so they themselves can help solve the problems, and I would like to turn over to you, Mr. Chairman, a copy of the Indian scholarship program reports on higher education in the State of Minnesota, which is recently prepared. Also, I would like to turn over a copy of the reports of the Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Thank you very much. You don't know what the percent of Indians from Minnesota are in college or have graduated from college?

Mr. Buckanaga. You're talking about——

Senator Kennedy of New York. How many Indians from Minnesota have graduated from college?

Mr. Buckanaga. Presently we have over 150.

Senator Kennedy of New York. In colleges?

Mr. Buckanaga. We will have this fall approximately 200 in college, and we have approximately 225 high school graduates who will continue.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Do you know how many actually finished college?

Mr. Buckanaga. Not exactly, but within the past 10 years it increased from 10 to 120.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Who have graduated?

Mr. Buckanaga. Yes.

Senator Kennedy of New York. Thank you, sir. I appreciate this and all that will go into the record. We have three more witnesses. We would like to all go to the site of Wounded Knee because of what it means to the Indians, and the fact that the massacre of the Indians took place at Wounded Knee. Unfortunately we have a schedule we have to keep which would inconvenience people if we would be late. If we continue this hearing as we are and then try to take that trip, it would be too late. What we were wondering was if the three last witnesses would be willing to place their statements in the record, and then we will all leave and go to Wounded Knee and also be able to keep the rest of the schedule?

(The prepared statement of Mr. Buckanaga follows:)

Prepared Statement of John Buckanaga, Educational Specialist, U.S.P.H.S., Red Lake, Minn.

The greatest resource of the Indian people lies in the potential of our young people. The great tragedy of the Indian people is that this resource has been ravished and wasted. We look to our schools as a source of hope. We search for the education that will allow our people to walk taller with confidence in themselves and pride in their homeland. We hear promises of a land of opportunity, yet the condition of our schools belies the emptiness of these promises. It is painfully obvious that far too few of our students are given the opportunity to develop skills and talents that will prepare them for productive jobs, that will enhance their ability to enrich their community and their nation.

The historical prejudice against Indian people remains and is reflected in the quality of our schools as well as in other walks of life. At a time when our schools should be helping us to catch up, we see schools that are dragging us further behind.

We see great promise in our Head Start and Upward Bound programs. And yet, there is a ten year span between Head Start and Upward Bound. During this ten years, the Indian student is victimized by all of the frustrations and alienation of an inferior and outdated education.

Far fewer than half of our students ever graduate from high school. The drop-out rate among teachers and administrators must be even higher. When most of our teachers stay for only one or two years, what chance do we have to make full use of their talents? Our facilities, textbooks, and curriculum are outdated and in many cases obsolete. Our schools lack imagination and creativity. Many, but not all, of our teachers themselves are adequately prepared; but our school systems and school authorities must function within inadequate budgets. They seem segregated from the life blood of our communities. Teachers and administrators lack rapport with parents and show little understanding for our culture, traditions, and heritage.

The tragedy of Indian education is not unique to Red Lake and other Indian communities throughout the state of Minnesota. The problems that I have mentioned are similar to those in all other reservations that I have visited. They are the problems that I have discussed with the leaders of other Tribes at State and National conferences.

The blame for this educational catastrophe does not lie with our people. But we did not come here to place blame. We cannot undo past injury and neglect.

We can offer Indian students the chance for more productive lives, therefore, I submit the following proposals for your earnest consideration:

I. Preschool education

Children have a capacity to learn within their early formative years particularly in their pre-school years. During this initial period of life many of their present habits and social adjustments are formulated.

Because of the many disadvantages their parents, due to lack or limited education, lack or limited financing and skills, lack or limited employment opportunities possibly with exception of seasonal employment, limited economic base (our average Indian family income is $1800 per annum per family) these children and their families are faced with adverse socio-economic conditions which they must later accept as a fact of life in search of their own survival.

1. We recommend and encourage immediate legislation and sufficient funding to alleviate these many foreseeable conditions in the establishing of child development centers at the Indian community level.

2. We further recommend and encourage the continuation of the Head Start Program for all Indian children ages 4–6 years old.

3. We also recommend and encourage the establishment of kindergarten for all Indian communities within the immediate future. We encourage local Indian aides be employed along with trained and qualified teachers.

II. Special training programs in colleges and universities

Special training programs and special incentives must be created to attract the best teachers into Indian erducation. Teachers colleges and universities should be established which deal with the special problems of Indian education. They should be located in or near Indian committees. These colleges should place special emphasis on attracting Indian young people into teaching professions and preparing them to teach in their own communities.

III. Teacher aides

Funds should be made available to utilize Indian young people as teachers aides in both elementary and secondary schools. These aides will provide a direct and more meaningful lifeline between the school and community. This program will also provide encouragement and training for those of our young people who are interested in entering the field of teaching.

IV. School board education

Our school boards must be given the opportunity to learn of new teaching methods and educational approaches. Classes should be made available to them for this purpose. They should be encouraged to visit other schools to learn how other educational systems operate. Presently our Board of Education serves only as "rubber stamps" to education authorities and officials.

V. Expansion of NYC

The Neighborhood Youth Corps and other in-school training programs must be expanded so students from low-income families can remain in school until they graduate.

VI. Higher education

Increase appropriations to existing federal and state agencies dealing with Indian education at all levels so that ready and qualified Indian applicants may enter vocation training institutions, colleges and universities of their choice. That sufficient funds be made available to permit and allow maximum educational opportunities. Currently, inadequate federal funds and bureaucratic regulations and policies do not allow maximum educational opportunities.

VII. Special teaching courses

In order that the great American Indian Heritage can be cultivated and perpetuated, we recommend funding special training courses in Indian culture, history, language, and Arts and Crafts.

VIII. Housing for teachers in communities where they teach

Many of our teachers commute great distances daily often through severe weather conditions. Housing facilities are unavailable in most instances. This results in problems of recruitment of capable, qualified and conscientious teachers.

IX. Funds to update our schools

1. Many of our educational institutions are relatively old being constructed several years ago. Because of new trends and added curricula, our facilities are often insufficient in carrying out educational functions. We request funds for expansion to conform with current and modern educational standards.

2. Because of inadequate federal aid and state aid our curriculum is often centered around obsolete books, materials and supplies. Textbooks and audio-visual aids also need updating. Textbooks and other reading materials should stress current problems of Indian people, not meaningless data and information which does not relate to facts of history. This would intend to bring about an improved aspect related to human relations of all people.

3. Our Indian population suffers from many health problems. It is reported by the U.S. Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health, that the average life span of the American Indian is 42 years of age compared to 65 years of age for the rest of the nation. Special emphasis should be placed in this area to develop criterias for local educational use so as to bring about a better and wholesome attitude on Indian health problems. Special funds are needed in this area to develop the program within the current school curriculum.

4. Allow adequate funds to mobilize talents of Indian students through the use of modern and scientific methods of communication medias to conform with approved educational standards and facilities of middle and upper class institutions. This would include TV educational programs, use of electronic equipment, etc.

X. Graduates of higher education

And finally, for graduates of higher education this is an area of critical and vital concern to our many Indian leaders and to many of our graduates of fine colleges and universities. We are told and encouraged to receive higher degree of education by BIA, State and other governmental and non-governmental agencies, labor and business, etc. Upon obtaining a degree or certification of higher learning, our graduates are placed in positions in which there is limited hope in advancement. Several Indian graduates are gainfully employed in the field of education in many of our area public schools.

Our primary concern lies in the area of leadership development of our Indian graduates. Our Indian graduates are often placed in menial, or 2nd, 3rd, or 4th class positions—*never* in the area of decision making or policy development. We speak in the area of federal agencies such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Indian Health, Department of Labor, Department of Agriculture, Housing and Urban Development, and Office of Economic Opportunity and other similar agencies that have a direct bearing on the Indian people problems and the future and destiny of solutions to them. Too many times, our problems, our destiny, the solutions to our problems are made by non-Indian, non-concerned people who are employed in an agency only for their personal security, personal gain, status, prestige or monetary gain—but no concern for the advancement of the Indian populus. We want the opportunity to make our own mistakes in these critical areas of our own destiny and future.

Only recently through the Office of Economic Opportunity have we enjoyed and exhibited our excellent Indian leadership. We have used our own Indian human resources to the optimum advantages. Despite our criticisms of various programs throughout our reservations, we have numerable successes which by far outnumber our failures. Our obstacles many times seem to be existing and supporting agencies in Indian Affairs.

We encourage your support in alleviating non-productive man power in our existing federal agencies by placing emphasis on Indian recruitment in key and responsible positions where action, policy and decision making can be productive in our attack on our problems. If the present trend is allowed to continue, our problems will continue and once again the first Americans will gradually revert to 2nd, 3rd, and 4th class citizen of their own aboriginal lands—this land which we now call the United States of America.

Senator **Burdick**. Mr. Chairman, I notice by the list of witnesses you have August Little Soldier, Fort Berthold, S. Dak. He is a good man, and I know South Dakota would like to have him, but he is from North Dakota, and August, would you like to make a short statement and file your record or just file your record?

Mr. **Little Soldier**. Since time is so essential to the group, I feel that maybe a statement or two——

Senator **Burdick**. I appreciate that. I think probably we will have the benefit of your testimony and also have the advantage of visiting this site which means so much to the Indians.

Senator **Kennedy** of New York. At this point in the record, I order printed the prepared statements and other material submitted by persons unable to testify.

(The material referred to follows:)

Prepared Statement of August Little Soldier, Tribal Chairman, Three Affiliated Tribes, Fort Berthold Indian Reservation, Representing the United Tribes of North Dakota

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, my name is August Little Soldier, Tribal Chairman for the Three Affiliated Tribes, Fort Berthold Indian Reservation and have been appointed by the Chairman of the United Tribes of North Dakota to present this prepared statement.

I appreciate this opportunity to present the views on behalf of the United Tribes of North Dakota I represent.

The following are the Indian Reservations that make up the United Tribes of North Dakota: Fort Berthold, Fort Totten, Turtle Mountain and the Standing Rock Indian Reservation. The four Indian Reservations of North Dakota united in a joint effort in 1964 to combat the adverse legislations that the State of North Dakota brought to the State Legislature on the ever present jurisdiction issue.

By organizing and meeting regularly the United Tribes of North Dakota have progressed in several areas that have been beneficial to the Indian Tribes affected. "We, the Indians of North Dakota, preamble determined, to reaffirm faith of our people in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of man and woman, and to promote conditions for Indians under which justice and respect arising from treaties and other sources of law can be maintained and to promote social progress and better standards of life, and for these ends, to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength, in a spirit of willing cooperation, for promotion of the economic and social advancement of our people, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims."

The past history of Indian Education has been forgotten by most of our tribal leaders so let us revitalize our minds to the very beginning: Education—A development of Federal policy—"Father", requested Cornplanter, speaking for the Senecas in 1792, "you give us leave to speak our minds concerning the tilling of the ground. We ask you to teach us to plough and to grind corn; that you will send smiths among us, and above all, that you will teach our children to read and to write, and our women to spin and to weave." With equal warmth George Washington replied, through the Secretary of War, that the Senecas might be sure of the willingness and desire to impart to them "the blessings of husbandry, and the arts" and that a number of their children would be received to be educated either at the time of the Treaty, or at such a time and place as they might agree upon.

In such a fashion did the President of the United States and a chief of an Indian tribe first discuss the possibility of governmental assistance in bringing to the red man the advantages of a European civilization. Although this particular arrangement was destined not to materialize, the interest it aroused quickened, and on December 2, 1794, educational provisions were included in a treaty negotiated with the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians. This was followed in 1803 by a treaty with the Kaskaskia Indians which provided an annual contribution for 7 years for a Roman Catholic priest who, among other things, was to instruct in literature. Thus began the practice, which persisted up to the end of treaty making in 1871, of including educational provisions in treaties. The provisions covered technical education in agriculture and mechanical arts, support of reservation schools, boarding schools, or schools and teachers generally, and contributions for educational purposes.

On March 30, 1802, Congress made provision for the expenditure of a sum of money not to exceed $15,000 per annum to promote civilization among the Aborigines. For another decade this action stood as the sole indication that Congress had recognized responsibility for Indian education; then, in his first message to Congress, President Monroe called for additional efforts to preserve, improve, and civilize the original inhabitants. This recommendation was acted upon 2 years later when Congress enacted a provision which still stands as the organic legal basis for most of the educational work of the Indian Service. As embodied in the United States Code the law declares: The President may, in every case where he shall judge improvement in the habits and conditions of such Indians practicable, and the means of instruction can be introduced with their own consent, employ capable persons of good moral character to instruct them in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic and performing such other duties as may be enjoined according to such instructions and rules as the President may give and prescribe for the regulation of their conduct, in the discharge of their duties. A report of the proceedings adopted in the execution of this provision shall be annually laid before Congress.

Provision of education for Indian youth living on reservation lands is the responsibility of the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the United States Department of Interior. The Bureau of Indian Affairs provides financing, facilities, and administrative and instructional staffs for the Bureau schools. In the case of North Dakota, the four Indian reservations each have elementary schools and secondary schools. The high schools provide for both day and boarding students and, when practicable, transportation to school is provided.

Some persons believe that the Bureau school systems in cooperation with the school districts are equivalent, and sometimes above, some of the public schools in the area, in terms of physical plants, instructional materials and qualifications of teachers. Irregardless of the superior facilities, materials, and fine qualifications of the teachers, it is also believed by some persons that the present Bureau of Indian Affairs do not provide the necessary adequate basic education or preparation for pursuing a higher level of learing. Several people have made recommendations after observing the educational and economic problems of the students compared with other students from public schools, private schools, etc. The fact that the national Indian dropout rate is 60% would seem to indicate that Indian students are: not responding to the system of rewards and punishments in the non-Indian culture, and that, their culture needs are not being met.

Among all the philosophies of education concerning the goals of education, practically all educators will agree that, basically, the over all purpose of education is to turn out happy and socially contributing human beings. This means that, as a result of his education, the student feels that he is on top of his environment, is contributing to its development, and has a joyful sense of achievement according to his ability. This is just another way of saying that the school has met his needs.

The fact that the national Indian drop out rate from the eighth grade to the twelfth grade is sixty percent would seem to indicate that Indian Schools in general are not meeting the needs of the Indian student. A drop out rate of this size exhibits not only scholastic, but socially maladaptive behavior on the part of the majority of Indian students. This would appear tantamount to saying that, as a result of eight years of education, the Indian student shows mentally unhealthy ways of responding to the environment in which he now lives and that in which he must live and contribute as an adult. A failure of the schools to prepare the Indian students to meet his environment seems evident.

All of the various agencies or institutions involved in Indian education seem to have revealed their own culture biases. They appear to have assumed that by offering the American educational system with its culturally determined system of rewards and punishments (values) to the American Indian, that the American Indian student will respond and desire upward social mobility, or achievement in the American non-Indian sense. It would be well to recall that the system of rewards and punishment in one culture does not necessarily motivate people of another culture. The findings of modern social scientists would seem to indicate that it would have been desirable to have used the system of rewards and punishments in the Indian culture (their values) to assist the Indian to adjust to the only area in which he must adjust: the modern eight to five world that he must face. It would appear that the large drop out rate could be attributed to one thing: value conflict.

The motivation for overcoming value conflict should seem to come only from one's own cultural values, and not from the value system of another culture. The Indian race, as the *American Heritage Book of Indians* points out, is the longest lived race on the face of the earth. It has been said that even in this country, after four hundred years of being surrounded and pressed by the dominant culture, the Indian personality constellation remains the same, relatively untouched, through all levels of acculturation. Since a culture is only as durable as its values, it would seem desirable to look at the Indian value system in order to see what motivates an Indian. It is only recently that educational researchers have begun to look into the Indian world in order to ascertain what makes the Indian culturally durable. They are discovering a world rich in its ancient wisdom and comfortable and supporting in its human and natural relationships. It is this world that must be tapped and utilized in helping the Indian to adjust to the wage exchange world of today.

It seems unanimous in the literature of the social scientists that mental health problems usually accompany most culture changes. Inconsistencies in cognitive maps and world views produce painful tensions in direct proportion to daily confrontation. It is a tribute to the durability of the Indian personality constellation that he has resisted as well as he has.

However, since the end of World War II, face to face confrontation with the dominate culture has increased the tension of the American Indian and brought a drastic rise in mental health problems. This increasing confrontation, with its corresponding rise of emotional problems, lends a likewise increasing urgency to solutions for the problem.

Adding to the subtlety of the problem is the fact that values, until examined by members of a given culture, usually operate at the unconscious level. For the average Indian student this means that, by teaching or instructing, his values must be brought to his conscious level for examination and prideful evaluation in order to show him "what makes him tick", and to show him how to use *his* values in adjusting to the modern world. It is true, that, in adjusting, he will incorporate some non-Indian values, but, in so doing, he will use his own values as motivation. It is true that a few remarkable Indians, by their own painful effort and unique adaptability, have adapted and achieved a position of eminence in the non-Indian society. It would seem, however, that the schools could have done more for these "success stories", and produced more of such cases on the normal distribution curve. Most of these "achieving" Indians "rose" by their own effort, as we have said, plus the individual attention and encouragement they received from some teacher, friend, or relatives personally interested in them. It would seem that the vast majority, however, have not been assisted as much as they could have been to adjustment and a happy life.

Education in harmonizing the Indian and non-Indian value systems must be offered *prior* to the offering of the non-Indian technical, vocational, and liberal education; otherwise, these programs (and this would seem to include the war on poverty for Indians) are largely thwarted because of the value conflict. This does *not* mean that one teaches the Indian how to become a white man, then teach him a trade. The cultural approach means that he is taught how to use his values (he becomes even more Indian) in taking advantage of vocational or liberal educational opportunities and becoming self-supporting.

The application of the cultural approach for adult Indians—how to use the old values in becoming self-supporting—would involve a very lengthy program roughly resembling a type of large scale therapy. It would be exceedingly time consuming and costly and personal or such a program would be hard to find.

The time and place to teach an Indian the cultural approach—how to use his values—should be at the time and place when he is most susceptible to learning—when he is young and in school. Teaching an Indian child, from his first day in nursery school, how to use his Indian values in the modern, work-for-money world in which he must live, would equip him with functional, learned responses to cope with the crisis of cultural identification occurring at adolescence. He doesn't stop being Indian. He is more Indian than ever because he has learned how *to use* his values in a new setting. This approach harmonizes the cultural blocks presently negating the motivational assumptions underlying the offerings of vocational and liberal education. This program approaches the problem through the culture and system of rewards and punishments *of the Indian* and not of the non-Indian.

In short, unless the cultural impasse is resolved and removed first, it would seem that other educational opportunities would not be as effective as they could be.

Recent research has shown that the problem goes even deeped than Indian and non-Indian value clashing. The Indian youth of today has a serious identification problem of his own. Extensive psychological testing for four hundred and fifteen young Indian people revealed severe distrubances mostly attributable to a lack of proper identification.

Several studies have been conducted to a new approach to Indian Education. These studies sought to identify the psychological causes of the breakdown of scholastic achievement and general performance of Indian Youth. Having identified the central pattern—alienation and anomie with resulting feelings of rejection, depression, and anxiety—it was seen that the Indian youth is alienated from himself and others. He is not effectively identified with his Indian heritage, nor can he identify with the hostile, white world facing him. He is, during the troubled years of adolescence, a "nothing". He has an extreme crippling negative self image. He has no direction to his life and is lost.

Since it is impossible to give each Indian youth the therapy necessary to overcome his emotional problems caused by cultural conflict, there arises the necessity of dealing with the groups and classes (within their various schools) and applying the techniques similar to those of group therapy in developing a mental health course designed to lead the Indian youth out of his anomic condition and to teach him how to achieve emotional stability in the cross-cultural stresses he is suffering. The course would *teach* him how to adjust and could be called "acculturational psychology", modern Indian psychology", or some similar title.

Since the Indian youth indicates that he is socially alienated, even from his own group, he shows that he is not Indian and has no effective awareness of his historical racial identity.

Since awareness of historical origins is necessary for orientation to any kind of future action, the first part of this acculturation course should consist in teaching him a solid, clear history of his race, designed to give him pride in his racial origin. In current Indian education, the normal American History courses are taught in all Indian schools. Indian youths study about the pilgrims, the early struggles to settle the country, the revolutionary war, etc. However, the Indian youth doesn't identify with these accomplishments because they were the accomplishments of another race and, what is more, some of the major struggles and victories of the white settlers, on the early Atlantic seaoard and later in the West, were against his own race. Since the Indian does not get a sense of historical racial pride from the study of history that a white youth does, the Indian youth should be taught thoroughly and vividly the history of his Indian race first as the primary source and basis for personal identity. This history of his race would be the first necessary part of the course.

The next part of the course would teach the Indian youth what values are and how they historically arise,—usually from the economy from which a race makes a living. Having gained a mastery of the concept of values as sources of common responses in a culture, the Indian youth would proceed to a study of the traditional Indian values.

He would be shown why he acts as he does as an Indian; his subconscious cultural drives would be brought to light and to conscious awareness for understanding and evaluation. Then, having seen what the Indian values are, he would proceed to a study of the major White-Amreican values. He would be shown how certain major American values clash with his Indian values and bring about personality tensions and deviations. He would be taught basic, psychological principles of how to adjust to and relieve stress and conflict. He will be shown clearly that acculturational psychology is *not* a mater of ceasing to be Indian. This is psychologically absurd. He is likewise shown that acculturation is not a matter of completely becoming white. This is also psychologically impossible. He will be shown how to take the best from the two cultures, blend and integrate these values within himself with the result that he creates within himself a unique, precious, third kind of personality,—which is his enriching contribution to society. His personality would escape the stereotype of both races and enrich society with a qualitatively different personality. He would have the satisfaction of achieveing a unique, modern Indian identity and full self actualization.

Ideally, such a course should begin on the pre-nursery level and be taught, in expanding fashion, at each grade level to senior high school. Let the preschoolers have their picture books of Mother Goose and the like, but let them also have their picture and reading books of great people and great legends of their own tribes. Pre-school youngsters can be taught a sense of pride in being Indians without their being aware of it. They will have pride in their race as an operative value, which will protect them against the adolsecent crisis of identification that the current Indian youth is meeting.

RATIONALE

Most Indian students, after about the seventh grade, show themselves to be seriously alienated and unidentified. Personal pride and identity come primarily from one's racial group. Most Indian students lack personal, prideful, identity because they are unaware of their racial historical past, due to the fact that it has not been taught to them in school. Since values, until examined, operate at the unconscious level, most of them are also unaware of the great Indian value system that has made them the longest lived race on the face of the earth. Their history and Value System should be the rock bottom sources of their prideful identity. In order to give Indian students *a*, prideful identity, and *b*, motivation to modern world adjustment as socially contributing citizens, the above mentioned courses of Indian studies is recommended according to the following general outline.

OUTLINE

1. Introduction: What Modern Indian Psychology is.
2. What culture is. How cultures are different.
3. What values are. How values arise and endure in a culture.
4. What the Indian values are. Indian motivation.
5. Indian History,—Indian values in action.
6. Non-Indian values.
7. Psychology of behavior and adjustment. Defense Mechanisms.
8. Specific conflicts from Indian and non-Indian values.
9. Probable behavioral deviations from Indian and Non-Indian value conflicts.
10. Indian psychology of adjustment: How to use the Indian value system as motivation for adjustment to value conflict.
11. The modern Indian,—a unique personality, self made from the best of both cultures: your prideful and enriching contribution to American society.

PROBLEMS

The Indian Reservations in North Dakota realize that we have no unique problem in the use of alcohol by our young people. We do, however, recognize the dangerous progression of its use which correlates with the alcoholism problem on the Indian Reservations in general.

Because of the permissiveness by individuals, by the family, and by the community toward the use of alcohol, we feel a grave crisis is at hand. Scholars in the field of alcohol tell us that early education is one of our possible aids to helping to minimize our problem. Our needs, therefore, demand that we set up a "top notch" education program of teaching mental health, which would include an emphasis on this insidious illness of alcoholism. These young people in order to talk intelligently about alcohol have to know something about the chemical itself, what the body does with it, and what it does to the body. There are many myths in this area that need to be cleared up. They also need to think through carefully the many conflicting feelings and attitudes people have about alcohol. We believe that they should know why some people use alcohol and reasons why some people do not. The reasons they will hear are very important in making their future decisions. The end utopian result then would be that not only would they be able to talk intelligently about alcohol, but will also have help in making intelligent decisions concerning it.

Qualified teachers, proper curriculum opportunities and community cooperation will be a necessity. The Tribal Councils throughout the Indian Reservations are deeply concerned over the situation at hand and one reservation has completed a general study on ALCOHOL and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe by James O. Whittaker, Ph. D. Associate Professor and Chairman Department of Psychology, a copy of the study is included in this statement.

We know that it will take the complete cooperation of all agencies, from all levels of government and services available to recognize the crisis at hand in our schools. Be they Federal or public schools.

It has been noted that the attrition of Indian students in their high school years has been extremely high in areas where the school has been operated primarily by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. A multiplicity of factors are responsible for the lack of the Indian students success in high school. The factors responsible fall in several areas which tend to weaken the success of our Indian children achieving a high school education.

Some of the overall problems are as follows:

1. A serious need for durable housing for the Indian reservations.
2. Lack of a healthy climate of home environment for the Indian student.
3. The Indian student by walking away from the problem is the only solution he knows.
4. The Indian parents care less about the Parent-Teachers Association and other organizations that are open for parent involvement.
5. A need for a teacher program specially structured that would prepare the teacher to understand the culture values of the Indian student.
6. The social, economic, and cultural context of the reservation should be taken into consideration in which the educational system operates.
7. Factors outside the school system that contribute to the educational behavior of the Indian student.
8. Indian students come from homes that lack books or newspapers; therefore, the school assumes the responsibility that is primarily that of the parent.
9. Lack of Tribal Leaders, and other officials working together with the Indian student in overcoming difficulties that arise during the school years.
10. The need for the parent to recognize civic responsibilities in the community.
11. Tribal leaders must be familiar with the structure of the school system on the Indian reservation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Indian students of the 11th and 12th grades should participate in the upward bound program which assists them in understanding the organization of a college and to whom to go for different kinds of assistance.
2. The need for counselors of Indian background to assist the Indian student and the teachers in understanding the student's problems and prevent serious results.
3. Special counseling services and guidance offered to Indian students with emotional problems.
4. More active participation of Tribal leaders and parents in school functions will create a stronger bond between the Indian student, school, and family.
5. The need for remedial teachers in our school system.
6. School administrators recognizing the need for facilities to have special education programs for the Indian student.
7. Eliminate isolation of the Indian students who have problems.
8. Encourage the school system to follow the "Cooperative School Agreement" involving the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the School District; who shall jointly and cooperatively operate a school, such matters as personnel, curriculum, budget, enrollment and general policies to govern the process of cooperation shall be considered.
9. Reduce the pupil-teacher ratio to 15 to 1.
10. Early Childhood Education is important to the Indian children and should begin at age 3.
11. Boarding schools away from the reservation should be eliminated and cottage type homes for these deprived youngsters should be constructed on the reservation.

12. Guidance, Counseling, Mental Health staff are needed in the schools for the emotional disturbed Indian student.

13. Create Vocational Training Centers for the whole family similar to the Madera, California Indian Vocational Training Center.

14. The need for an Adult Education Center is very important to the Indian family and the student.

15. Indian parents or tribal members should establish themselves on the school boards so they will have a vote in establishing policies and programs for their children.

16. The need for employment on the Indian reservation would directly ease the problems of the Indian student, that is, the family being employed.

SUMMARY

The American Indian race is the longest lived race on the face of the earth and of all the studies conducted by individuals on any proposed program and project these studies conducted by individuals, organizations and agencies, the American Indian has been the most surveyed people in the world. From time immemorial the Indian has been a "political football".

We all agree that the present education program, for our Indian students, must and shall be improved in several areas that are sadly neglected by the parent, school and the agency responsible for carrying out the education program.

In reaching the objectives set out in the recommendations listed we must consider the variations among the Indian tribes, the Indian culture, and the attitide of the non-Indian society, the communities, and including some educators for and against the Indians. We cannot overlook the quality of the teachers that are needed, we must not overlook the quality of instruction and a follow-up of our students when they graduate from high school.

The schools that are assisting in the education of our Indian students, public, mission, or federal schools, must not be allowed to lower their standards. All school officials, tribal leaders and the parents must involve themselves and take interest in the education of the Indian student. The Tribal Councils and the parents must establish themselves on an Indian Advisory Committee in federal operated schools, in mission schools, and the public schools, therefore, they will assist in approving, helping, developing the education of the Indian student.

The Tribal Councils and educators know that the schools throughout the United States are faced with the problem of teaching English as a second language and all agencies concerned, and the Tribe must join forces to develop a basic body of English content, both oral and written, outlined in sequence to be taught at each grade level from the kindergarten through the high school grades. The teachers without prior experience or preparation in teaching English as a second language are lost, and while they, the teachers, are finding their way the education of the Indian student suffers. The teachers must be trained to recognize the special problems, difficulties of the student and the parent without destroying the Indian culture. We also must realize as Tribal leaders, school and federal officials, the desperate need for adequate housing for the Indians, which will develop good study habits for the Indian student. There is a definite need for housing to accommodate the teachers and staff that will increase the overall administration and quality of the Indian Education Program.

The Tribal Councils realize that there is a definite need by the Indian Reservations throughout the United States for a stepped up campaign to develop a training program to acquaint the tribal membership with the responsibilities attached to citizenship in tribal organizations, state, and federal. This would provide an orientation to the American system of government and tribal government that would impart an understanding through adult education of the civic and moral responsibilities that can be effectively and intelligently exercised by the membership of the Tribe. The Tribal Councils know that the increased contacts between various governmental organizations and other tribal groups require political and technical knowledge of procedures to effectively deal with each other.

Through an all out effort to improve the Indian education system by the Tribal Councils, school and federal officials, there needs to be a coordinated effort by all concerned to cooperate in all areas of education and more involvement by the leaders of their respective agencies to include the parents in their planning, policies and goals.

The Tribal Councils are well aware of the truancy problem that is common in the non-Indian schools in the cities and not new to the affluent society students attending private schools, therefore, by cooperating with the school officials and the parents some of the Tribes have adopted an ordinance "Failure to send children to school" which is working very good in our schools that are operating on a cooperative agreement plan by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the school district.

Boarding Schools that are operated off the reservation are a problem that we must not overlook. The youngsters of grade school age are taken from their homes and placed in these dormitory type buildings and we must not forget why they were placed in the boarding schools, first of all let us consider the children's age, his or her emotional adjustment and the environment and housing, and the climate of their home life. The Indian parent lacks the chance for employment, and is on welfare, which seems to be the root of all of our problems. The children in the elementary grades should be afforded the chance to receive an education near his home, on the reservation in an atmosphere of home, and in cottage type homes and not placed in a boarding school where the curriculum and the teachers are not geared to give the grade school student the quality and service these deprived youngsters require. Secondly, we cannot forget the secondary schools that are operated off the reservation for the Indian student. Take for example the school of Wahpeton and Haskell which offers a challenge and experience that the high school student welcomes and the drop out is very low.

The school, federal and tribal officials must be concerned with the High School students who will be entering college to the higher education programs. We must plan for funds for the dependents of our Indian students who are college material. Consequently, many high potential Indian students, who are college material, are unable to attend college completely, therefore, those that get married while in college have to drop out in order to support their spouse. There is a serious lack of funds for scholarships to qualified Indian students. The United Tribes of North Dakota know that the holding power would be increased if additional personnel were available to counsel with students and colleges.

Our educational programs must include the adults and we realize that we need a strong parent-teacher relationship and this can be developed through the involvement of the Tribal Councils, the communities and the all out effort of our school, federal and other officials of relaxing their attitudes in a positive direction.

Our primary objective is to have economic improvement, employment opportunities on or near the reservation and it is a basic fact that this goes in hand with education. The school, federal and tribal officials should work together to provide outstanding professional service in guidance, counseling, therapy (for emotional problems), remedial work, special education and not detour around the ever present main problem which is becoming serious throughout the Indian reservations you know and the United Tribes realize that we need more emphasis placed on our Mental Health Programs, in the field of Alcoholism which is something we must consider.

Yes, it is true, the Indian leaders have the responsibility to think for themselves and to make the wishes and needs of our Indian students, and adults known. Some of our Indian leaders have sat too long with their arms folded and let other people do their thinking for them. The Tribal Councils and the Indian communities are very happy to cooperate with Federal, school, and other agencies to make possible education programs which will improve the reservations, but as tribal leaders, school and federal officials, we must be sure that the services these agencies provide really are what is the need of the Indian student and the Indian adults.

The primary problem is that so many education programs are available from so many different agencies, all with their own complicated procedures and qualifications. Moreover, we know that bottlenecks do exist in these agencies which prevent our Indian education programs from moving ahead. The Federal Government must realize that we need a coordinated approach to the problems of the reservation and this is essential. The United Tribes of North Dakota know this is important and the United Tribes of North Dakota have formed a development corporation and are doing something about this problem. Conditions are worsening, that is housing, is getting worse, we have no employment, and welfare is not the answer to our dilemma. The United Tribes of North Dakota recommend to the other Tribes to stand on their own two feet and cast aside the crutch of federal paternalism and begin to do your own thinking. Let us not forget the non-Indian must be educated to know the American Indian.

Respectfully submitted.

MEMORANDUM ON INDIAN EDUCATION NEEDS OF THE TURTLE MOUNTAIN AREA, SUBMITTED BY ELMA D. WILKIE, PROJECT DIRECTOR, NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS, TURTLE MOUNTAIN RESERVATION, BELCOURT, N. DAK.

There was a meeting of the United Tribes at Bismarck, North Dakota on March 21, 1968 held for the purpose of discussing our problems in Indian Education with Mr. William Byler, Executive Director of the Association on American Indian Affairs. I am submitting the following report and data because I feel that not enough emphasis was made in regard to the needs of our Indian children in the Turtle Mountain area.

Our rate of dropouts at the Turtle Mountain Community School, which is operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, is approximately 50 to 60%. We enroll over 100 students in our Freshman Class each year but we have a hard time graduating 40 to 50 students each year.

We were awarded 18 slots for dropouts in our current Neighborhood Youth Corps Out-of-School Program last December and I had approximately 165 referrals from various agencies and our local school rosters for these openings—these referrals were just for boys between the ages of 16-21 years who had dropped out of school somewhere from the 7th through the 11th grade. In addition, we had approximately 40 names of girls who had dropped out. When some of these youngsters were asked why they had dropped out of school, the most frequent reason given was that the teachers were indifferent—they did not have the time to teach them to read, write or add when they were having difficulty in these areas. They stated the teachers were inclined to work mostly with the brighter students or students whose parents were BIA employees, school board members, or children of the local business people. The kids, up in the remote part of the reservation really felt "left out". One of these youngsters remarked "like in everything else around here, it's not what you know, it's who you know that will get you through high school and the first crack at college grants, loans, etc."

Most of these dropouts were slow academically and the parents did not have steady employment which made for a lot of insecurity at home. The majority of them were unemployed about three-fourths of the time and a lot of them were welfare recipients which made it necessary for the youngsters to go out to the potato and sugar beet fields each season; which in turn, made them miss school about two months each year; which in turn, made it almost impossible for them to catch up when they did start school late in the fall and this invariably led to "Fs" year after year in subjects such as English, Science and Math. Finally, discouraged and frustrated they just dropped out of school completely. (Couldn't something be done to discourage the potato and sugar beet growers from hiring high school students during the school terms?) but most often, these youngsters are the most productive members of a family and I suppose the growers are well aware of this.

Since our NYC programs have come to exist, we have made every attempt to keep these youngsters in school and there has been some improvement provided our programs start early enough at the beginning of the school year. As far as the teachers being indifferent towards some of the students, I am well aware of this problem since I was school secretary for three years before I started with NYC. Our Bureau teachers are dedicated and enthusiastic when they first come into the Bureau system but after a year or two, they seem to "slack off" and become cynical and skeptic toward the Indians. They tend to blame all the shortcomings on the students rather than making an effort to try and work with them to overcome their difficulties. I have heard of some of these teachers ridicule students in front of the others because their parents are alcoholics. I believe that their "Civil Service security" is conductive to this change in attitudes. They do not have to sign yearly contracts to be assured of a job and their wage increments depend wholly on one person's "Efficiency Rating" (which by the way, are meted out on "it's not what you know, it's who you know" basis). The Bureau maintains that they have a hard time recruiting good teachers for this area because of the isolation factor. Why is it then, that they discourage our own people from coming back to teach our children? I should like to see the "Administrative cost item" of the appropriation budget for Indian Education for the past few years—I would like to bet that some of the bureau teachers are the highest paid in the nation—taking into consideration the low-cost housing and maintenance, paid health and life insurance, retirement benefits, etc.—where else could you rent a three-bedroom house for $75 per month with all utilities paid and maintenance men furnished ($3.25 per hour) to shovel your sidewalks, change your light bulbs or unplug your toilet. In view of all of these benefits, these teachers should have no excuse to lose their dedication and be satisfied in having 80 percent of the students pulling "Fs" rather than working with them to maintain passing grades. It does appear, that the poor taxpayers are not getting a just return for their money from the Bureau teachers. (Could we not have these teachers sign yearly contracts of some sort, like the public school teachers do?)

Our Cooperating School Board Agreements have made some progress in the area of creating better communication with our Indian people on the reservation but much remains to be done. The School Board did have a "break through" when they hired a School Social Worker who knew the Indian people and was willing to go into their homes to check on chronic absentees and latecomers. The School Board also hired a Coach, during the past two years, who is genuinely interested in helping out Indian Youth rather than worrying about maintaining the proper public image of the Bureau in the surrounding non-Indian communities. The School Board also hired one band instructor who unsuccessfully tried to shape-up a good and attraction-getting Marching Band by dressing the band members in Indian costumes, etc. He failed because some of the Bureau teachers viewed this with cynical remarks and pessimism. We, no longer have this particular band instructor. We *must* give back to our youth, the pride of being an Indian! It has been my personal experience that whenever I stated or my actions indicated that I was an Indian and proud of it—the non-Indians shared this feeling with me and were anxious to know more about Indians and their problems. I lived off the reservation for approximately half of my lifetime (Roughly, 20 years).

I have a County-wide Neighborhood Youth Corps program which involves three public schools and we have quite a number of Indian students in these schools—made possible through Johnson O'Malley funds. The Administrators of these public schools have special problems with our Indian youngsters and feel that more Indian youths would go to their schools if they could provide special counseling services for them, etc. (See attached reports).

In discussing our problems with these administrators, we feel there is a great need for more vocational training or trades. The present high school set-ups can well take care of the college-caliber students but it appears that it is the slower students that we have failed in the past. If these students can be weeded out and worked with on individual need by the time they reach high school, we are sure that we will have a happier and more adjusted youth population in this area—this goes for the non-Indian youngsters, also.

Our various CAP Components and Title V Programs have alleviated some of the chronic unemployment among our people which in turn has improved home conditions for our youngsters but all of these programs are on such a temporary basis that they do not compel a sense of security for these people.

The "biggest bug" in the operation of our NYC programs is not knowing how many slots we will have from project to project or if we are going to be fortunate enough to survive another year. My feeling is that our youngsters should not be subjected to the whims of the politicians. Mr. Kennedy, I hope in this report I have offered something constructive rather than just criticism in trying to express to you the wants and needs of our Indian people for the education of their children.

Enclosures.

St. John Public School,
St. John, N. Dak., March 29, 1968.

Gentlemen: The St. John Public School has an Indian student population of over 55 per cent of the enrollment. We, therefore, are concerned about how we can more effectively integrate these students so that they may achieve the fullest social, educational, and cultural development possible.

The St. John School, because of being a small school district and because of many of our students living on non-taxable Indian land relies heavily upon Federal Aid and Federal Programs to compensate for the additional cost of educating all children in our district.

We feel that a special counseling program for Indian children in our school would be excellent so they may take advantage of educational opportunities available to them. Cultural heritage of the Indian children should be fostered and given its proper status in the school and community. Federal Indian Aid would help us secure qualified teachers so we may be fully accredited. Federal Indian Aid would help us secure adequate and healthy physical education facilities, such as clean showers for Indian boys and girls, who do not have these facilties in their own homes.

The drop-out rate would be reduced by improving our school to meet the present and future needs of our Indian students.

The NYC Program has helped a great number of these students by providing spending money, a chance to work under supervised working conditions, and the idea of being able to have a worthwhile job. Our school has benefitted by having these students work, but more so, they have gained from the work experience.

A parent involvement program would be another worthwhile program in our school to make the school-parent-student relationship a more workable and rewarding relationship for our Indian students.

Sincerely,

James Bower, *Principal.*

Dunseith Public Schools,
Dunseith, N. Dak., April 4, 1968.

Mrs. Elma Wilkie
Belcourt, N. Dak.

Dear Mrs. Wilkie: This is in reply to your request for my recommendations concerning special programs that might be used to meet special needs of Indian pupils.

The proper treatment of this matter would require considerably more time than I have available on this notice, however, I will attempt to touch on a couple of what I see as the more obvious un-met needs of many Indian children.

That there is ample reason for your concern in this matter is evidenced by the frequency and type of discipline problems encountered with the slower sections—particularly in the junior high grades.

While I do not pretend to know all of the reasons why each of these children seem unable to adjust satisfactorily to the regular school program, I think that I can safely say that two of the most apparent contributors seem to be (1) a home atmosphere that often fails to sufficiently impress these youngsters with the value of an adequate education, and (2) a school curriculum that is not geared in interest-level and content-level for the slower pupil.

My suggestion of programs that might combat in some measure a discouraging home atmosphere, a low-level of school interest and an all-around adverse school attitude would include some of the following:

(*a*) Elementary & junior high guidance counseling
(*b*) Properly qualified social workers, preferably of Indian descent
(*c*) Speech therapist
(*d*) School psychologist
(*e*) Greatly reduced class size for slower sections
(*f*) Increased number of vocational & industrial arts courses
(*g*) Modified course content in required subjects for slow sections
(*h*) Increased emphasis on pre-school programs

A substantial number of White children are equally victimized by educational programs which are usually geared to the average and above child. And too, many of our Indian youngsters appear to be doing very well under present conditions. However, the percentage of those not doing well is such that it is certainly deserving of more attention than it is now receiving.

Sincerely yours,

L. J. Jerstad, *Superintendent.*

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CHRIS JOHNSON, REPRESENTATIVE, UNITED SIOUX TRIBES, SISSETON, S. DAK.

Senator Kennedy and members of the Subcommittee on Indian Education. The members of the Sisseton Wahpeton Sioux Tribe and the Sisseton Wahpeton Sioux Tribal Council are deeply grateful for the invitation to meet with you and convey to you the concerns and hopes of the Sisseton Wahpeton Sioux Tribe and I'm sure all American Indians.

After many years of frustrations and struggled by our people, we are thankful for the proposed changes that have been made to improve the social and economic conditions by the Federal government. These changes have given us new hope and encouragement to pursue greater goals for our people.

However, there are few remaining areas in Indian, Federal, and State relationships that give us grave concerns.

We would like to begin our presentation by providing your committee with a historical background on the Sisseton Wahpeton Sioux Tribe.

The Indian people presently living on the Lake Traverse Reservation are descendants of the Sisseton-Wahpeton Bands of the Santee Sioux (Dakota) Tribe, which occupied much of Southern Minnesota and Northern Iowa when the first contacts were made with white settlers. Through a series of treaties, much of the Minnesota-Iowa area was ceded to the United States for cash, goods, and annuities.

After a series of uprisings by several Dakota Bands in 1862, the original annuities and lands of the Dakota, including those of the Sisseton Band, were confiscated by the Federal government, although the Sisseton had not participated in the outbreak. The present Sisseton Reservation was established in 1867.

In 1892, the Sisseton (Lake Traverse) Reservation was opened to settlement for non-Indians. Each Indian was allotted 160 acres for settlement, while the remaining land was purchased by the Federal government for $2.50 an acre and then sold to non-Indian homesteaders for the same price. In time the Indians became a minority group on the Reservation as the non-Indian settlers moved in. Title to lands alotted to the Tribe or individual Indians was held in trust by the Federal government for 25 years, and the trust status has subsequently been extended to the present time.

Today, most of the Indian lands are leased to non-Indian farmers. The rental payments on the remaining 100,000 acres of Indian owned land are divided among the Indian owners. However, the distribution of these payments is complicated by the extremely fragmented ownership patterns due to inheritance practices.

In general, the Indians themselves now live on small parcels of land that are unsuitable for agriculture. Their forefathers were not oriented towards farming and did not settle in the areas containing the most productive farm land.

The Sisseton Reservation is a triangular shaped area containing about one million acres located in the Northeastern corner of South Dakota. Of the 15,000 residents of the Reservation about 1,900 are Indians who are members of the Sisseton Tribe. Approximately 50% of the Indian population is under 16 years of age.

The economic condition of members of the Sisseton Tribe can best be described with the folowing statistics:

(1) Of the 1,900 Indians living on the Reservation only 42 have full time jobs with an Indian work force estimated at or over 600. The unemployment and underemployment rate is in excess of 90 percent.

(2) In 1960, median family income for Indian families was $2,050.00. The average Indian family size was about 6.8 persons.

(3) The 1960 census showed that the median school years completed by Indians 25 years and older was 8.5 years.

We sincerely feel that to achieve a standard of living for the Indian that would equal that of our country as a whole can be accomplished by a three pronged attack on Education, Housing, and Employment.

The Sisseton Wahpeton Sioux Tribal Council has been directed by the Tribe through petitions from the districts involved with the Sisseton, Wilmot, and Waubay School Districts to not only assist the districts in obtaining new school facilities but also to integrate our Indian students into the public schools as rapidly as possible.

To enable the Indian student to have a better opportunity for education it is necessary for teachers, staff, and others to develop a knowledge of the culture, mores, and society of which the Indian is a part. Regular extension credit courses should be offered in selected areas throughout the state to provide this information to school personnel.

Public Law 874 is the law by which funds are made available to school districts for normal operation and maintenance in Federally Impacted areas. This aid is needed in our state but must be made available at a guaranteed rate as schools in South Dakota are facing a severe financial crisis. This year, as an example, the funding was set and then reduced to 93%; then the 93% was again reduced by 20% making the available funds only 74% of the original amount established. As you can readily see, financial aid fluctuations of this type are not good when operating on a fixed budget.

Johnson-O'Malley Funds are an addition of 874 funds with the purpose of associating public schools in the education of Indian youth where a financial burden is proved.

In the past, South Dakota has been on a formula basis in regard to Johnson-O'Malley funds. We feel the Johnson-O'Malley program is one of *need* and not entitlement, therefore, we must change to the *need* concept for general fund support. We endorse the new proposal of Jon C. Wade, Director of South Dakota Indian Education, changing our state to a *need* or contract basis. In addition to this new concept, we encourage more generous funding of the above program.

Public Law 815 funds are made available to schools in our state due to Federally impacted area students. This money is made available in the form of new construction and equipment aid.

The Sisseton Wahpeton Sioux backed the Sisseton Public School's plan to levy a much needed elementary addition only to find the money deferred by P.L. 90–218, dated December 18, 1967. We feel once this project was given a priority and plans and local money were made ready to proceed, the Congress was wrong in withdrawing these funds. Our needs are immediate and any delay will only increase our dire position.

We urge these funds be restored as education is one of our major goals in the Sisseton area.

On August 31, 1967, the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribal Council applied through the Sisseton-Wahpeton Housing Authority for a program reservation of low-rent public housing and a preliminary loan through the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Housing Assistance Administration, Chicago, Illinois, but as of this date we have not had any word as to the progress of this application. If any people needed housing, this tribe desperately needs it.

The Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribal Council has applied to the Economic Development Administration for a Title III Planning and Administrative Grant in Aid under Section 301b of Public Law 89–136, which would enable the tribe to hire a full-time professional staff to develop industrial developments which would provide full-time meaningful employment.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF FRANK DUCHENEAUX, CHAIRMAN, CHEYENNE RIVER SIOUX TRIBES OF SOUTH DAKOTA

On April 16, 1968, at 1 P.M., C.S.T., before the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee charged with the specific duty of inquiring into the quality and effectivenes of the Education Program for Indian children in our Nation.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, I would like to thank the subcommittee for the opportunity to appear and to give testimony regarding Educational Program needs for the American Indians, and the effectiveness of the present program.

I speak not only as the Chairman of the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe but as an especially selected delegate of the United Sioux Tribes of South Dakota. Elected by the Indian people of South Dakota in Pierre, South Dakota on March 22, 1968. I am also a member of the National Advisory Committee on Education to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

If the Indian is to ever take his place in this Great Society on the same footing as the non-Indian, he must be given the opportunity now to prepare for it. In only the last 20 years have the Indian people become aware of the needs for an education.

One of the limiting facts was that after our children had graduated from Indian Bureau High School, they had to go to a Preparatory School before they could meet the criteria to enter college. We found that our boys were being taught to be farmers and the girls were taught household duties. We felt that these things could and should be taught in the home. We also realized that if our children were to get the same basic training as the non-Indian, there had to be a change in the Course of Study that was being followed by the Federal School. On December 7, 1956 the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, by Resolution, requested our Congressman, the late Senator Francis Case, to introduce a bill to provide for the State Course of Study be used in B.I.A. Schools. The Indians of South Dakota could request by referendum that the Federal school adopt the State curriculm. Subsequent to this action, Congress enacted Public Law 301 in the 81st Congress, 1st Session, which requires the use of the State Course of Study in Federal Indian Schools in the State of South Dakota. On the Cheyenne River Indian Reservation, the student is receiving the same basic training as our non-Indian friends.

Federal high schools should be equipped to prepare talented young people for professional careers. The high school course should be designed to encourage such ambitions. Recognizing that the Indian people must produce leaders from their own ranks before any permanent solution of the Indian problem can be expected, and that these leaders must have professional and cultural training to fit them for the work, some sort of a college scholarship should be set up.

The State of South Dakota has recognized that need and has established 100 such scholarships; however, these State scholarships provide for payment of tuition only, this is a minor item in the total cost of a college education. At best it amounts to about $385.00 for three quarters on the average, so while 100 scholarships sounds like a lot the benefit is not so great to any one student.

The need for Federal Boarding Schools for American Indians is a question in the opinion of many persons because of the segregation of the Indian and the separation of the child from the parent. We, the Cheyenne River Sioux, however, believe that there *is* a definite need for Federal Indian Boarding Schools.

The reason for this stand is the great number of acres, some 2,500,000, and sparse settlement of our Reservation and the unfeasibility of building roads to each home. This is prohibited by the cost of construction and the economic situation of our people in transporting their children to the bus stops. Many bus stops are quite distant from the homes to the highway. The only answer then is Federal Boarding Schools.

The Federal School at Eagle Butte, South Dakota, is unique in that it is one of the only integrated schools in the Nation that is operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Eagle Butte Independent School District paying their proportionate share of the cost. The total enrollment is 1,133 students, of these there are 379 boarding school students, 324 day school and 138 Indian students are bussed compared to 292 non-Indians.

The Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe believe that our children are now getting the same basic training as the non-Indian students.

Pre-School or Head Start for our children is a must because in most cases there is the language barrier. This has to be over come so as to put our children on the same level as the non-Indian who do not have this handicap. We hope that the Congress and those in authority will recognize this fact and continue to appropriate funds for this worthy purpose.

Discrimination in public schools is often times brought about by misunderstanding or misinformation as to who is paying the cost of education of an Indan student in public schools. The general public is not properly informed that some of the cost is provided by the Johnson-O'Malley Act funds through a contract with the State. Money is provided for the payment of tuition and cost of educating many Indian students. We feel that the Johnson-O'Malley Act should be amended to provide for more consultation on the part of the Indian. Public school relations is our biggest single discrimination problem. Public schools are frequently operated locally and independently without Indian involvement. We are fortunate, however, at Cheyenne River in having two Indian people on the five-man board. The only people who usually have knowledge of this problem are the B.I.A. and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction with whom they contract for the service.

After the funds are allocated to the State they are often no longer identified with the Indian people involved. Indian students are frequently confronted with the satement from the non-Indian that the white parents are paying for Indian education by local taxes, and the Indian is only a burden to the non-Indian parents. If those students and their parents knew that the Johnson-O'Malley funds were being provided to educate the Indians, there certainly could be better relations. We believe that wherever the Johnson-O'Malley funds are provided to a non-Indian school that the Indian should be given the opportunity to aid in and participate in the negotiation of the State Johnson-O'Malley contracts with the B.I.A. In some cases, district high schools near Indian Reservations could not operate except for the Johnson-O'Malley funds.

The National Advisory Committee on Education to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs has recommended that school boards be created to teach the Indians the responsibility they have for participating in the operation of the schools in the nearby districts as well as the Federal Indian Boarding School. These funds necessary to train them will enable them to develop their responsibility as managers.

We have on our Reservation a completed new installation under the Job Corps Program. It was a serious mistake to not activate it. It had been looked forward to as a step in preparing the Indian youth for life under conditions not arousing suspicion and agreeable to him. We urge that the facilities there be utilized and used, if not in the Job Corps Program, by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or other Agency for teaching vocational courses to Indian youth. Many trades, such as masonry, brick laying, block laying, welding, heavy machine operation, water treatment, auto mechanic, auto body repair, truck driving and a multitude of others could be taught there.

The Indian youth must be given the opportunities to develop their talents fully and to pursue their ambitions free of arbitrary barriers to learning and employment. They should have a chance to become professionals in any field of their choice such as teachers, nurses, doctors, engineers, managers, lawyers and leaders.

These young Indian leaders will eventually become the bridge between two cultures, two languages, and two ways of life. We must open wide the road of career training and higher education for the many Indian students who qualify.

I would like to thank the Committee for this opportunity to voice our opinions as to the quality and effectiveness of the Educational Programs that are in operation today. Thank you.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF GORDON C. BEAVER, CHAIRMAN, WINNEBAGO TRIBAL COUNCIL, WINNEBAGO, NEBR.

I am Gordon C. Beaver, Chairman of the Winnebago Tribal Council, Winnebago, Nebraska. My Tribe appreciates the opportunity to speak to you about problems of education of the Indian youth in our area. We thank you for coming out.

The members of the Winnebago Tribal Council, and every member of the Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska, recognize the crucial importance of education of the youth of our Tribe. We feel that in this modern day and age a person will face great difficulty in life unless his mind is prepared to meet life's problems. The day is rapidly vanishing when a person may make a living by the strength of his body alone. Jobs in factories, work in agriculture, owning an independent business, and running tribal affairs—each require education. We know there are other important needs for our reservation and for our people, such as housing, sanitation, recreation, law and order, and health services. But we place education above all of these for two reasons. First, we believe many of these other problems would become far less severe if education on our reservation were to advance. And secondly, education affects the younger generation. In that group of people lies the great hope for a better future life for Indian life.

We are grateful for and we appreciate the aid which the federal government now gives to education in our area. We would certainly not have the level of education we have without Johnson-O'Malley funds and without other federal funds such as the funds received under Public Law #874. But we feel there is much more that could be accomplished if the funds and facilities were available. I would like to spend a few minutes on some of the areas where more effort is needed.

First, we believe that our Indian children need a curriculum with slightly different content than the one presently available. They need a curriculum aimed at the following subject areas, Indian children are very skillful in the use of their hands. They have a high sense of creativity—and we feel these skills and this creativity are traits which should be cultivated by education. A curriculum should, therefore, contain more hours and more teachers devoted to the industrial arts and to crafts and skills. We believe that some subjects now being taught should be directed more to the interest of the Indian children. For example, history should include the history of Indian generally and in particular the history of the Tribes from which the school children in our area come. As you know our Tribe is self-governing with a constitution and with an elected Tribal council for its legislative body. If democratic tribal government of this type is to succeed, the Indian children who will one day vote and sit on the Tribal Council must be educated in the science of government and we feel that our school curriculum should cover tribal government.

Second, we believe the method of teaching in our school needs a change of direction. Several points should be mentioned here. First, we need teachers who understand the Indian students and who will treat them fairly and without discrimination. We have had instances in the past where school property has not been fairly apportioned to white and Indian children upon equal terms. Second, we feel teachers must have some appreciation of the background, culture, motivations and difficulties of environment and home life of the Indian children. I believe what I am trying to say is this: A teacher must know their problems, in and out of school, before the educational process will succeed. Schools with a large Indian population require a different kind of teacher than schools with an all white student body. We do not feel the financial resources of the school in our area permit the employment of teachers of this caliber. Problem children are shifted from our school to other schools, and the concentration of these difficult children in these other schools (largely Bureau schools) creates greater problems there. Third. We feel that guidance and counseling services should be expanded greatly. We know the drop out rate of Indian children in our school is much too high, running somewhere between 14 and 21 percent during the past 5 school years. We know the percentage of Indian children going to college is low compared to the white population. We feel confident that a counselor employed by the school district would decrease the drop-out rate by counselling with the child and his parents, ascertaining the cause of the drop-out and taking steps to eliminate the cause or persuade the child and parents of the value of education. We feel confident that a guidance counselor could increase the number of our children going to college or trade schools by outlining for them the advantages of such attendance and assisting them in following the procedures for admission to these post-high school institutions. Fourth. We know that many of our Indian children have, for a variety of reasons, not kept pace with their age groups.

They are behind a couple of years in English or mathematics. We need to devote some dollars to special instruction for these students or they grow disheartened and drop from school completely when they cannot keep up with the rest of the class. With special help these students could be salvaged. Without this special help, they will fall by the wayside and be lost. Fifth. We have great need for adult education courses of many varieties. We should make greater use of the school's physical plant and its teaching staff to educate members of the tribe who were yesterday's drop outs—or who never had a chance to go to school. Instruction of this age group requires different materials—maybe even different teachers—and money to develop this area has not been available in the past.

I want to mention our physical plant. It needs to be modernized and enlarged. This will be particularly necessary if a merger of the Winnebago and Macy school districts takes place. Such merger is presently under discussion and in our opinion should take place. Federal funds to assist in building a new physical plant for this consolidated school district would be a great benefit.

One final item deserves comment. Many of our Indian people are capable of filling employment positions in the school district. For example, the district currently employs cooks and bus drivers, but not one Indian person is employed in these positions. We feel this should not continue to be true. Employment of Indian people in these jobs would give much needed employment, but more importantly, it would add a tone to the whole educational institution of our area which would tend to induce Indian children to think of the school as part of their community and instill in them a desire to participate in it fully.

I have kept my remarks general in order to cover the subject without taking too much time. I should like to request that a copy of these remarks be made part of the record of this proceeding, and I would be more than happy to answer any questions anyone might have. I thank you for the opportunity to present these views of the Winnebago Tribe.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ENOS POORBEAR, PRESIDENT, OGLALA SIOUX TRIBE, PINE RIDGE INDIAN RESERVATION, PINE RIDGE, S. DAK.

Honorable chairman and honorable members of this subcommittee, as the President of the Oglala Sioux Tribe I wish to make the following statement:

We appreciate the concern towards our Indian people, on the part of a great number of the members in the House and Senate; however, we are concerned over the lack of factual knowledge of the actual, day to day, conditions that impede the progress of our Indian children in the educational field.

We are grateful that this Committee is here today to peek at conditions "over the hill".

Family environment in a sub-standard home is such that our Indian children enter school with a great handicap. It is understandable that a small child whose only home is a canvass tent, or a log house with dirt floor, or an abandoned car body, cannot show the initiative necessary to carry him along with his more fortunate classmates.

It is absolutely essential that our Indian people be given an opportunity to afford better and more decent homes, so that our Indian children may retain the feeling of pride provided by good and proper home environment. This is basically the one major problem that needs improvement before our Indian children can freely and happily concentrate on acquiring an education.

Over all, home improvement which ties in very closely with job opportunities, is the main problem confronting our Oglala Sioux people. This present tribal administration knows that there are many other problems which bears attention: however, these are in other areas in which this committee is not concerned.

This present tribal administration is only seven days old, and we cannot adequately do justice in presenting a more comprehensive statement to this select committee.

May we reserve the privilege or be given an opportunity to file with this committee a more proper and detailed statement, concerning our Indian children and the field of Indian education.

Thank you Honorable Chairman and members of this committee for your interest in a subject which we feel is the salvation of the Oglala Sioux Tribe.

Enclosures.

JUNE 28, 1968.

To: The Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.
From: Oglala Sioux Tribe, Pine Ridge, S. Dak.
Subject: An Appraisal of the Pine Ridge Education Program, Pine Ridge, S. Dak.

This Appraisal recently completed by the Branch of Education staff defines the special educational needs of the Pine Ridge Education Program and describes recommendations that will strengthen the program. We believe that this report is entirely accurate and unbiased.

The recommendations described are practical for Pine Ridge Schools. We believe that these recommendations should be given high priority in any planning to be done by your committee on Indian Education.

The Appraisal has the complete endorsement of the Oglala Sioux Tribal Executive Committee.

ENOS POORBEAR,
OST President.
LLOYD W. EAGLEBULL,
OST Vice President.
WALLACE L. FINGER,
Treasurer, OST.
ROBERT J. MOUSSEAU,
Secretary, OST.
THEODORE TIBBITS,
Fifth Member, OST.

AN APPRAISAL OF THE PINE RIDGE EDUCATION PROGRAM, PINE RIDGE, S. DAK.

I. INTRODUCTION

The viewpoint on the quality of Indian education expressed by the U.S. Indian Commissioner Robert L. Bennett, June 3, 1968, at a Flagstaff, Arizona workshop when he stated, "The quality of education did not slip backward, it just didn't rush forward," confirms the viewpoint of administrators, educators, tribal leaders, Indian parents and students on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Commissioner Bennett continued, "The high water mark in Indian education was reached three decades ago, in the 30's, when innocations said experimentation began in the classrooms. The rapid progress of those days was not continued because of inadequate budgets. Thanks to the generosity of the 89th and 90th Congresses, we are floating to a new high mark in the quailty of education for Indians."

During the period referred to by Commissioner Bennett numerous extensive pieces of research, team studies, individual studies and other evaluative documentations were made to determine the effectiveness of the Pine Ridge educational program. All of these studies reveal some evidence that the education system has been fairly effective. Current local studies by Pine Ridge staff members reveal that growth in most areas has been measurable. Local studies include multi-pronged efforts in examining student statistics through standardized test scores, dropout rate, post graduate status, mobility of school population, adequacy of bus routes, attendance records, U.S. Public Health Service Baseline Study (April 1968), reading comprehension, bilingualism, and contribution of boarding facilities as related to mobility of students and success of high school graduates. (Graphs to follow in addendum.)

Various agency cumulative records reveal that the character of the Pine Ridge youth has not deteriorated. Emphasis on youth organizations such as, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, 4–H, Student Government Organizations in schools and community level recreational programs has provided a buffeting effect against the development of popular current day youth movements which develop radicals and extremists found among many deprived groups. The Pine Ridge system cannot admit failure in this area.

In addition, the ESEA Title I evaluation reveals recent evidence that progress in the Pine Ridge schools has been as effective as in other programs dealing with deprived groups in other urban and rural areas with similar problems. It would be desirable to have the results attained at Pine Ridge compared with the results attained in other poverty situations. The education staff is not attempting to infer it has done the best possible job, however, it is believed that they have done as well or better than most school systems in comparable situations.

In other words, efforts at Pine Ridge Agency to improve the quality of education for Indian children have not been totally ineffective, considering the social and economic status of many of the parents of our students. The Pine Ridge educational program should not be blamed for many of the social ills resulting from poverty as these are not really deficiencies in the education program. Such problems are properly the concern of the full staff of the Bureau and if improvements are made to alleviate some of the more serious problems stemming from socio-economic conditions on Pine Ridge, the education program could then institute effectively changes to be described in this Report under *Recommendations*. Problems relating specifically to Law and Order, Social Services, etc., have been outlined and requests have been made for implementing programs which will help to repair some of the damage done by the very difficult family situations in which many of our youngsters are required to live. Recommendations concerning these other programs will not be made a part of this Report.

II. THE APPRAISAL

The purpose of making an appraisal at this time is to determine the incidence of needs that still exist and particularly the unmet needs with a view of strengthening the Pine Ridge educational program through related recommendations. The assessment of need of the educational program for Indian children included appropriate measures as well as professional judgments.

Comprehensive planning took place over a six-month period through a series of meetings with staffs in six community day schools, the Oglala Community Elementary School and the Oglala Community Secondary School, principals and supervisors, educational Indian advisory committees and branch chiefs. These discussions were implemented by Superintendent Brice L. Lay and the Education Program Administrator, Rayno W. Penttila, of Pine Ridge Agency, who led the groups in analyzing the needs and encouraged them in making recommendations.

III. ANALYSIS OF NEEDS

Through the procedure described above a complete analysis of the needs was developed.

The children of Pine Ridge come from what might easily be called an underdeveloped area of the United States. The parents are of a low income bracket and are often unable to furnish their children with the food or clothing which are vital to their well-being and self-esteem. The Pine Ridge area lacks vocational opportunities which might allow the parents in the region to find jobs to improve their economic status. It is difficult for those who wish to improve their status to do so unless they leave their homes altogether. This mainly accounts for a 76% mobile school population among resident children on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Many of the children have parents with a very low educational background.

Educational level for persons 25 and over *

Age group (years):	*Eighth grade or less (percent)*
25–29	30.6
30–34	40.9
35–44	49.6
45–54	46.9
55–64	72.3

* USPHS Research Bulletin, p. 2.

They have been dropouts and the children follow in their path. The dropout rate by the time the children have reached high school is quite high. In an analysis of dropouts in grades 9–12, the annual dropout rate over a four-year period (1958–1962) averaged 28.5%; over the same period for the ninth grade only the dropout rate averaged 46%. Because the parents have a low educational background they are rather lax in insisting that their children finish school, or even attend. School attendance in a number of families is very poor. The children have a lack of self-discipline and they get very little guidance, encouragement or motivation from home. The parents, in many cases, seem to have relinquished their claim to the supervision of the children and leave it to the grandparents or the teachers. Many of the children are over-aged for their grade and feel frustrated and conspicuous. Many drop out of school early with feelings of alienation and a negative self-image.

As is the case in many low income areas, the number of broken homes is great on Pine Ridge. Many children are reared by grandparents or foster parents or they live in dormitories at the Oglala Community Boarding School. Therefore, they have a high degree of emotional maladjustments with the feeling that they are not wanted or loved.

Quite a high degree of moral laxity is evident on the Pine Ridge Reservation, due partly to the prevalence of broken homes and also to the conflict in cultures. Most homes are bilingual and there are many vestiges of the Sioux culture still remaining. The children have not yet found what they need from the Sioux culture or the non-Indian culture, and they do not know how to use well that which is good in both. This cultural conflict only deepens the emotional and moral instability which is found on the reservation.

Pine Ridge is a rural society and most of the children are totally unfamiliar with any other type of life. They have difficulty in expressing themselves in English, partly because of their bilingual background. They are also unfamiliar with much of the dominant culture around them and are not able to express themselves in the terms which will become necessary if they have to leave the reservation to find jobs. When that time comes, many will prefer to remain on the reservation without well-paying jobs rather than suffer the embarrasment they may find in the non-Indian world around them when they find that they are unable to compete successfully.

Some of the special educational needs are:

1. One of the greatest is the need to improve reading skills.
2. Limited vocabulary and a bilingual background create a demand for improvement of communication skills.
3. Physical education programs are needed for elementary school children to develop coordination and physical health to provide an outlet for many emotional disturbances which the children face.
4. There is need for the teaching of hygiene, personal grooming and good health habits to improve the general health of the children and to improve feelings of self-esteem.
5. Guidance personnel who are familiar with the special needs and problems of elementary school children are needed.
6. Experiences of an enrichment nature; experiences in the areas of arts, leisure time activities, social functions, and self-expression that are not available in the homes or communities of our students need to be provided.
7. There is a need to increase the staff with personnel in special fields who are sympathetic and understanding of the cultural background and needs of the Indian children.
8. There is a need for heightened aspiration and motivation for children to realize their potential capacities and willingness to initiate self-improvement.

9. Parents must become involved in the education of their children.

10. There is a need for in-service training of teachers, parent leaders, and supervisory staff. There is great need for teachers of Indian youth to have a knowledge and understanding of the problems and cultural heritage of Indian youth. Without this background the teacher may too often expect middle class standards of performance from the Indian youth.

11. There is an urgent and constant need for classroom experimentation with innovative procedures and techniques to test some of the exciting changes in education especially designed for culturally and educationally deprived children.

12. There is a great need for improved bus routes.

13. There is need for additional boarding and semi-boarding facilities.

14. There is need for a vocational school in the Pine Ridge area including new courses with high interest factors for students.

15. Great need exists for inducement of industries near and on the reservation.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS (PLANS FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE)

A. Involvement of parents

It is recognized that the total impact of the educational program on a child is heavily dependent upon the support that a child gets from his home. Parents need to identify with their child, the teacher and the school; to become involved in the educational process; and to contribute to the well-being, growth and development of their child. An explanation of ways Indian parents will be involved follows.

Indian children should be helped to think of their people not with shame or a sense of inferiority, but with pride because they had the strength to endure their ordeal and have survived. With this viewpoint in mind, the parents will be used to the fullest extent possible in developing classroom units on Indian culture and heritage. A list will be compiled of Indian resource people in the community who have special skills related to Indian culture: arts and crafts, music, legends, history, etc. These Indian resource people will be made available to any classroom group. No cost.

Local Indian classroom aides, attendance and health aides, will act as a cohesive factor between parents and teachers. Time will be set aside periodically during the school year so that teachers with aides could make visits to students' homes. Likewise, occasions will be planned at school involving the total parent population including the extended Sioux family. Such occasions will include special requests for parents' help, parent-teacher conferences, planning and supervising field trips, assisting with clinical appointments and special physical examinations of students. Parents will be asked to review their child's progress charts in remedial reading, mathematics and other academic areas. Attendance aides in particular will act in the capacity of a "school-home counselor". They will get expressions from the parents as well as the staff. They will get both parents and staff involved in the problems of the needier students. The parents will be made to feel that they are part of a team which seeks to help students solve problems. Classroom, health and attendance aides, $125,000.

In-service training workshops for local Indian education committees and potential school board members on the Pine Ridge Reservation will be continued. A workshop, recently completed, provided training for twenty-one members representing the seven BIA school districts on Pine Ridge. These districts are now in the process of holding elections for new school board members who will serve in an advisory capacity. It is anticipated that many of the twenty-one trained members will seek election for these positions.

Activities such as, visitations to public school board meetings, exemplary school programs, the State Department of Public Instruction, and utilization of the South Dakota School Law Book, current periodicals and manuals on functions of the school board have motivated local residents to become actively involved in the affairs of their local schools.

With this expressed interest another workshop is being planned to extend training opportunities. The course outline will provide for a study of school board functions and include areas such as, finance and budgeting, instruction, operation, maintenance, fixed charges, health, food services, student body, transportation, teacher recruitment, school facilities, types of educational programs, cultural integration, school and tribal laws, tax base and levy systems. Trained members are expected to develop a "know how" and self-leadership needed for participation in their local communities, $5,000.

In-service training workshops will also be conducted for local leaders for scouting programs and other youth organizations to increase leadership of Indian people in the citizenship training of their children. People are very reluctant to be leaders when they do not know how. If local community members are provided with the needed "know how" they would become excellent leaders. They understand problems related to cultural isolation, speak the Sioux language, have an awareness of increasing delinquency and a deep interest in their children, $7,800.

B. Program and curriculum improvement

Program and curriculum development should suggest that the program will be tailored to fit the student rather than forcing the student to fit the program. This further implies that the school officials will carefully place a student a a starting point compatible with his ability and achievement. This becomes increasingly important on the Pine Ridge Reservation whose educational program needs to be tailored for a school population with a 76% pupil mobility factor and with a special set of educational needs. Suggested program and curriculum improvements for the immediate future follow.

Organization of classes for individual progress provides classrooms for children engaged in tasks equal to their individual abilities. These classrooms would not be identified by grade levels and are referred to as the "non-graded' or "levels" organization. The Pine Ridge proposal would establish 14 "levels" and abolish the labels of grades 1-8. A child would move from level to level as soon as he was ready without regard to age or length of time spent in the previous level. A child will be tested at each level to determine if he has accomplished the work at that level. Readiness for a new level will be determined mainly by reading ability since most other learning requires this skill. Other subject areas, as well as social and emotional development, will be considered. (Additional staff for 14 levels will include the special services of a psychologist, special teachers in music, art and physical education), $32,000.

Individualized instruction through programmed learning materials

One of the special education needs mentioned earlier and no doubt the greatest is to improve reading skills. If a child has not learned to read with satisfactory comprehension by the time he is in the 4th or 5th grade, it will require massive effort. A thrust will be concentrated in two BIA schools in grades 6, 7 and 8 through the use of Programmed Reading. A careful and detailed evaluation will be made to determine if reading skills were improved through this method during this three-year period. Little Wound Day School, Kyle, South Dakota and Oglala Community Elementary School, Pine Ridge, South Dakota have been selected at locations to center this specific effort. These two locations will also serve all reservation teachers for in-service training Reading Improvement courses. Since the dropout rate reaches its peak between the 8th and 9th grades among Pine Ridge students, it is believed that massive effort must be made prior to this point in an attempt to improve reading skills. If reading skills near expected grade level can be attained by 6th, 7th and 8th grade students, their chances of increased success in high school will surely become more certain. If this program proves effective, its use will be extended to other schools.

In Programmed Reading the student is able to proceed through instructional sequences, small organized segments (frames), almost independently at a pace suited to his abilities, using materials that suit his needs. Such a plan will not force the student to keep pace with a class or group or limit his study to what is traditionally covered at a certain grade level. A bright student might master needed reading skills in one year at the end of the sixth grade in the proposal above. On the other hand, a slow student, or one with a mobile background with serious educational gaps, might take all three years—6th, 7th and 8th grades, to acquire the reading skills he needs to perform successfully in the 9th grade. The teacher will test each child at frequent intervals. These scores will be used as aids in directing the pupil's progress. Programmed Reading will be enriched and reinforced by many other related activities. In-service workshops will give teachers an overview and understanding of programming and anticipated outcome. However, teachers need little or no special training in using this technique. The cost for programmed materials is not excessive. Approximately $1,000 per school would be adequate. Two schools at $1,000 each, $2,000.

A program of special education for mentally handicapped but educable children should be provided. A survey completed by the U.S. Public Health Service, Pine Ridge, South Dakota, indicates there are at least 75 mentally retarded with 75 others seriously emotionally disturbed, plus 75 physically handicapped school-age children on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. A K–12 program should be centralized at the Oglala Community Boarding School for the entire reservation, and later a K–8 program organized at each community day school to provide for the mild and moderate degrees of mental retardation. The State of South Dakota standard recommends special education classes for the mentally retarded in all schools having an enrollment of 200 or over. (Financial support is available from the State of South Dakota at the annual rate of $1,800 for each special education classroom meeting the standards and approved by the Office of Special Education.) The classrooms will provide an academically oriented program for moderate degree retardation; however, these children would be with their peers for such activities as music, art, physical education and playground activities. High school special education students would graduate with their class or peers by meeting the standards which have been set up for them by the school. Because the mentally retarded child cannot bear the pressures of academic subjects the entire school day, the schedule would include craft room activities for part of the day. This would include a typewriter, industrial arts tools, craft materials, sewing machine for simple sewing and mending, table and chairs for simple cooking and table etiquette.

The greatest problem, yet surmountable, would be to get qualified staff. This would be done through retraining interested teachers on the regular staff. Four classrooms at $10,000 (staff and materials), $40,000.

Reducing class size at the Oglala Community Secondary School

The basic feature of this recommendation will be the employment of additional secondary staff for (1) mathematics ,(2) English, (3) science and (4) reading improvement to reduce the excessive teacher-student ratio in these areas in the 9th and 10th grades enrolling approximately 250 students with the greatest need for individual help. A survey of previous test scores in these four academic areas will be used to select and group students in small groups of 12–15, wherein they will have an opportunity to begin at a level of study commensurate with their present achievement. It is expected that this program will be very beneficial to incoming ninth grade students in their school adjustment. With fewer chances for failure, feelings of alienation should be minimized and the individual student's improved adjustment in the school situation should become more apparent. (See addendum, chart on Reading Comprehension range for incoming ninth grade students.) Four staff members at $7,500 each, $30,000.

Corrective or remedial reading programs for children in grades 4–8 with reading difficulties and for those who need more help in certain areas than can be given in the regular classroom. A recent mobility study covering grades 4–8 during the period 1963–1967 in BIA Schools on Pine Ridge indicates a mobility factor of 76%. There is a high correlation between mobility and deterioration of reading achievement scores. The mobile population has large educational gaps. Eight Elementary Remedial Reading Teachers at $8,000 each, $64,000.

An instructional materials center is recommended for each school location (six days schools and the Oglala Community School). The proposal will provide for the establishment of resource materials and reference books in all subject matter areas and modern equipment. Audio-visual equipment will include such items as projectors, tape recorders, overhead projectors, filmstrips, headsets and disc recordings. In addition to an instructional material center at each location, each library should be expanded. Children should have access to many books of all types, not only books supplementary to subject areas, but also the recreational type to broaden their horizons. Many literary classics in the form of "talking books" available on phonographic records should be provided. Books relating to Indian culture and heritage, both recreational and reference types, are especially needed in Bureau schools in implementing the educational program goals. By reading in the area of Indian culture, the Indian child may be able to identify himself. As stated earlier, there is great need for teachers of Indian youth to have a knowledge and understanding of their problems and cultural heritage. The library should provide this resource. The American Library Association's suggested standard is an annual allotment of $10.00 per child for library books. The actual budget for Pine Ridge BIA Schools presently allows $1.50 per child. Seven Instructional Materials Centers at $15,0000, $105,000.

Cultural enrichment will be implemented for all Pine Ridge Schools in three stages: *Stage 1*—Adding music and art teachers to the staffs in all schools and developing the curriculum to include these areas. *Stage 2*—Exposing students to special enrichment programs; provide opportunities to attend exhibits and concerts and visit museums of all types, including many on the Indian cultural past. *Stage 3*—Field trips within a hundred-mile radius to visit many places and things; to camp, hike, explore; and to make interesting stimulating experiences available to the children so that they will have a real reason for expanding their communication skills.

Stage 1, approximately $30,000.

Stages 2 and 3, approximately $10,000.

To improve the quality of instruction, "lead teachers" will be assigned to each elementary staff (seven schools) to supervise and train staff members. The first job of the "lead teacher" will be to examine the test scores of an entire school and decide how to implement a remedial program in reading and other academic areas for students who need this help. They will decide how to group students. Having a lead teacher work with an entire staff rather than one teacher at a time allows a school to gear a remedial program with full staff involvement. This recommendation will provide professional supervision for the instructional program not possible by the principal, who often is not trained for this work; and furthermore, who is constantly occupied with the administration of the school and necessarily involved in the affairs of a large community.

C. In-Service training for BIA staff.

An analysis of the general needs and a determination of the special educational needs of Sioux Indian children make in-service training for staff members a requirement. Due to a 25% teacher turnover annually, an in-service teacher training program must be continuous. This can be accomplished through evening college extension courses, with credit, established through nearby colleges. In selecting course offerings, those that closely relate to the special educational needs of Sioux Indian children will be given strongest consideration, such as "Education of the Culturally Deprived," "Improvement of Instruction in Reading," and others. There is a great need for teachers of Indian youth to have a knowledge and understanding of the problems and cultural heritage of Indian youth: preferred language spoken in the home, extended Sioux family, old Sioux values, vocabulary and experiential background, health, nutrition and housing, unemployment and local work opportunities and, finally, the relation of the school curriculum to all of these areas.

Without this background the teacher may too often expect middle class standards of performance from Indian youth. Faced with the teacher's negative attitude toward the values of the Indian culture, the Indian child tends to withdraw, first from learning and then from school. Determination will be made to see that the course taught will include relevant material on characteristics of culturally disadvantaged groups and conditions with which children are likely to come to school. No cost.

Another approach to in-service training for teachers would be the *Video-tape recorder*, which would be used for evaluation of teaching and improvement of instruction. It permits teachers to view their own teaching performance and thus become personally involved in the evaluation process, and thus modify their own classroom behavior. This seems superior to the traditional method which has centered on supervisory visits and depended on judgments or a formal checklist utilized to access the teacher's classroom performance. The equipment required is quite simple: a video recorder, TV camera, microphone, monitor and tape all mounted on a movable projection stand. No special training is required to operate the equipment, $3,000 each.

Improvement of Supervisory Skills courses, with credit, for principals will also be established. One such course would be offered each semester and classes scheduled weekly.

D. Innovative Procedures and Techniques

Most often the regular budget provides no leaway for using innovations to combat any of the special educational needs. Recommendations include several of these procedures which have given successful results on a small scale in other schools.

Instructional Television is a highly interesting teaching device and teacher helper. This device is to be utilized in the classroom as adjunct to the curriculum to receive Nebraska Educational Television programming. This device should help motivate students, promote learning and reduce cultural isolation by bringing the world to the classroom. Video tape, antenna, monitors, and related equipment, $5,000.

Campus Radio Station (with Speech and Drama Teacher) will make information available to the Pine Ridge community and the Oglala Community School campus. It will be operated by students. The school lunch menu, special health clinics, highlights for scheduled events in art, music and athletics, changes in bus schedules, and presentations from the Speech and Drama classes will be given coverage to keep parents and students informed. Station, $5,000 plus Speech and Drama Teacher, $8,000; total, $13,000.

The Language Laboratory will provide a 16-student unit convertible laboratory for use by students of foreign language courses offered at the Oglala Community School and will be installed in one of the present classrooms. The language learning activities will include: (1) Listening, (2) Responding, (3) Instructor contact (student receives instructor's correction), and (4) Recording (student records his performance, entire or partial, makes trials, compares, erases, and repeats at will). These learning activities point out the superiority of laboratory instruction as compared to the conventional textbook method. Cost (approximately), $6,000.

Mobile Counseling Van will service the isolated communities and schools. In the most basic sense it provides mobility and space. Counseling and guidance will be available to students, recent graduates who are unemployed, unemployed former graduates, adults, pupils who have dropped out either before or after meeting the compulsory age requirement for school attendance, and eighth grade pupils who are ready to enter high school. Personal counseling would use a major part of the counselor's time. Successful personal counseling of students requires also the counseling of parents. Some of the objectives would be: the necessity of developing regular school attendance and study; the desirability of parents taking an active part in the education process through both participation in school programs and interaction with the children. A possible side benefit of such counseling to be hoped for is a renewed interest in their own education of parents themselves, and requests by them for additional adult education.

E. Improvement and expansion of boarding facilities to increase school's holding power

Inasmuch as it is not possible, under present circumstances, to even begin to provide adequate facilities without utilizing the boarding school, it is believed that emphasis should be placed rather on increasing the effectiveness of the present boarding school system. Many Indian families live in portions of the reservation totally inaccessible by road. The students simply could not attend on a day school basis. Also, many of the students come from broken homes and many of them, without the boarding school, would have absolutely no care and supervision. To many Indian youngsters the boarding school provides a degree of stability which otherwise they would never achieve. The present situation has been carefully considered and no evidence can be found that attendance at a boarding school is necessarily "wrong" for this particular group of students. In summing up the situation, the Oglala Community Boarding School serves two categories of children—those who come from broken homes or for some other social reason; and those who are inaccessible to a local school or school bus route. The boarding enrollment of 420 in grades 1–12 is divided almost equally between the two categories.

In a January 1968 survey by the U.S. Public Health Service at Pine Ridge concerning parental presence among Indian children, it is found that 35% are not living with both parents. This includes about 80% of the 0–15 age group. Almost 32% are living in households in which the biological father is not present. This constitutes a problem for the families who must care for the child or for the government agencies or the child's relatives. The child *under* five is more likely to be living with both parents than is the child 5 through 9 years old and the latter is more likely to be living with both parents than is the child 10 through 15 years old. In other words, the older child is less likely to be living with both parents than is the younger child. Although there is no statistical proof regarding family disorganization, Pine Ridge guidance and welfare staffs estimate an additional 200 children could be admitted to the Pine Ridge Boarding School for social reasons if space was available. This is an ever emerging problem.

For many children living in isolation or deprivation the boarding school provides an extension of the school day from the usual six to ten hours, plus a safe place to sleep. Here children have opportunities to extend their experiences in many areas: health, social and recreational. Here they receive individual attention, counseling, guidance, and medical care that would not be possible in their homes or community. Many physical and emotional problems are discovered and treated as a result of being enrolled in the boarding school that would otherwise have gone unnoticed. Most valuable of all benefits—there is the opportunity to attend school uninterruptedly. A comparison of reading achievement scores of identical pupils (those who remained in school uninterruptedly for five years) with scores of mobile pupils reveals that identical pupils' scores are far superior to mobile pupils' scores. Furthermore, at the Oglala Community School 65% of the identical pupils were boarders. (See graphs—Identical vs. Mobile, No. 1 and No. 2.)

Over a ten-year period the 12th grade graduating class has averaged 38 members per class of whom an average of 24 were boarding students, or a total of 240. It is reasonable to conclude that the Pine Ridge Oglala Community Boarding School will continue to serve an increasing number of boarding graduates. The fact that these graduates have had three to four years experience in dormitory living aids greatly in making the transition they face in continuing advanced training away from home. Bridging the gap to college dormitory living ceases to be a problem for the high school boarding school graduate.

Although the boarding school serves well the Sioux children in compensating for many of their needs which parents are unable to provide, a survey of the boarding facilities was made to detemine ways in which part of the program could be strengthened. In an attempt to do this a probe into the dropout problem was made. A survey[1] was made on 54 ninth grade dropouts in 1965-66. Interestingly, they divided themselves almost equally as to day and boarding students.

It was found that two/thirds of them were 17 or older—that their average I.Q. was 84 and their average grade placement was 6.9 as compared to an expected grade placement of 8.9. Fifteen of the dropouts had no previous test scores which indicated a past school attendance history of considerable absenteeism. This does not verify that a boarder is more prone to drop out than a day student or vice-versa. It most likely verifies that the present educational system must provide more adequately for the potential dropout. One could assume that the system is not geared to retain the potential dropout. This type of student requires a special program, both in the sense that he needs courses especially designed for him and needs special attention in the regular classroom and out-of-school hours. Both the classroom and the dormitory staff-pupil ratio should be reduced to the extent that these pupils could receive the personal attention that they will need to satisfactorily complete their high school training.

The physical and psychological aspects of the dormitory program would be redesigned to aid in teaching responsibility, individual effort and personal worth. This would require remodeling of existing barrack-type facilities to provide semi-individual sleeping quarters, restaffing and reorientation of the present staff.

In probing the dropout problem the interrelation of the boarding program and the curriculum cannot be disregarded. The curriculum would also need to undergo changes to strengthen the holding power of the school as related to the potential dropout. This plan combined with the "levels" system and Programmed Learning providing a marketable skill would be given high priority. A reorganization of the program to a 1–5, 6–8 and 9–12 plan would offer advantages for the potential dropout. This plan combined with the "levels" system and Programmed Learning described earlier would allow the dropout to progress at his own speed in a multi-track (academic and vocational) program.

Consideration is being given to a plan to add the ninth grade to the day schools, thus reorganizing these elementary schools on a 1–6 and 7–9 basis. It is believed this would lessen the dropout problem and cause more students to continue through high school.

f. Semi-boarding facilities at community day schools to help compensate for mobility factor

Semi-boarding facilities successfully served children in grades 1–8 in four of the outlying day schools in the middle 1950's; namely, Loneman, Kyle, Allen and Wanblee. However, the operation was discontinued because of inadequate budgets.

One of the primary uses made of these semifacilities was to provide children the opportunity for uninterrupted school attendance during the annual seasonal trek of their parents to the Nebraska and Colorado harvest fields. This lasted from four to six weeks for most of the families. Local community parents

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[1] Knudson, D., Guidance Supervisor, Oglala Community Boarding School, "A Survey of Dropouts in 1965–66".

(usually man and wife) were hired by the Bureau as dormitory attendant and cook. There were two sleeping areas, each accommodating approximately 20 boys and 20 girls. Enrollment included children in family groups. The 40 children often represented six to eigth families. Older children helped care for their younger brothers and sisters. Relatives in the community (extended Sioux family) were always willing to "stand in" for parents over the week-end, inviting children "home" if at all possible. Week-ends were fully scheduled to include field trips to nearby towns, excursions to places of interest, to a theatre or a swimming pool or other enrichment activities. At other times these semi-dormitory facilities were used when bus routes were impassable for extended periods due to snow or mud. A summertime survey indicated which families would be affected, as based on past experience. These periods were usually not longer than two weeks, except in the most serious situations when there were periods as long as four weeks. The parents willingly assumed the responsibility of getting the children to school and children arrived by various and interesting modes of travel.

The most immediate value of this arrangement, of course, was improved school attendance. Values not planned for were even more impressive. There was a fluency of English among these children never before observed. They developed interesting personalities and were curious to explore and learn. The brief experience of planning, working and playing together helped them to mature emotionally and socially. The practice of doing "homework" for 30 minutes each evening developed and improved study habits. Health habits—sleeping, eating, grooming, became occasions for learning these habits. Furthermore, upon completing the eighth grade at the day school, this particular group of children who had experienced the routine of semi-dormitory living, made a successful adjustment almost immediately upon entering the secondary school at Pine Ridge, both as boarders and students, as there were few, if any, educational gaps in their school history.

This plan is recommended as an interim measure until the economic status of Pine Ridge Indian people greatly improves and until the reservation road system is completely developed.

Operation of 6 semidorms at $6,000	$36, 000
Equipment: 12 dormitory trailers at $2,000	$24, 000

g. Roads programming—Pine Ridge Reservation

Better bus routes is by far the most pressing need related to education. Improved daily attendance of 2,400 day pupils enrolled in Bureau schools on the Pine Ridge Reservation is primarily dependent upon improved bus routes.

Sample school non-attendance records compiled during a four-week period in 1966–67 when bus routes were impassable indicate the academic handicap imposed on children. The following chart shows pupil-days missed during this period by 146 pupils.

School	Route No.	Number of pupils	Days missed (by each pupil)
Manderson	2	38	14
Porcupine	1	5	12
Little Wound	1	6	20
Loneman	1	17	14
Do	2	22	14
Do	3	8	14
Allen	1	24	14
Wanblee	2	9	17
Do	3	10	21
Oglala Community	2	7	14

A survey of school bus routes in June 1967 shows approximately 500 school children living on a total of 60 miles of unimproved routes. These routes are in extremely poor condition and always impassable in wet weather. The remaining 1,900 day pupils live on hardsurfaced and graveled routes, totaling 194 miles.

The completion of a hardsurfaced school bus route system is beyond the point of turning back. With practically 80% of the goal accomplished, the most logical, and surely the most economical recommendation that can be made now is a program for the immediate hardsurfacing of the remaining 60 miles of unimproved dirt bus routes. Every mile of improved roads leading to community day school centers helps reduce the isolation factor and, in turn, reduces the turnover of qualified teachers who state that "isolation" is their main reason for leaving Pine Ridge to seek employment elsewhere.

All travel on Pine Ridge is geared to the use of the automobile. The mode of transportation of Reservation Indians is the automotive vehicle, as it is for all people living in this area. (Horses and wagons prevalent in the 1930's have completely disappeared.) The automobile is now the most economical mode of travel in this plains area. Mail service, ambulance and medical service, law and order, and the daily needs of people in this area have all been geared to this mode of travel. With reliable air service over 100 miles from the reservation and the prohibitive expense of using it in a poverty stricken area even if it were closer and with no railway service on or near the reservation, commercial firms rely entirely on highway transport trucks.

The recommendation for improving 60 miles of school bus routes does not include, nor is intended to include, extensions or new routes which would transfer 50% of the boarder pupils (210) to day schools. As explained earlier, these children enrolled as boarders because they are inaccessible to a day school or a school bus route. This group of 210 children live in scattered, isolated parts of the reservation, usually at the end of a trail. School opportunities for them are best provided at the present time in the central boarding school at Pine Ridge. Many of the families in this category are moving to housing development projects as housing become available. This number affected is diminishing each year. Hard surfacing of 60 school bus route miles at $40,000 per mile, $2,400,000.

H. Pupil mobility—BIA schools

In a study of Pupil Mobility in Bureau Schools, March 1968, 159 fourth grade pupils enrolled in all BIA Schools in 1963 composed the initial group. However, during this five-year period (1963–1968), 120 new pupils were enrolled at intervals, making a total of 279 pupils belonging to the group in March 1968.

At the end of the five-year period 69 identical pupils in all seven BIA Schools combined remained in the 8th grade. (Identical pupils are those enrolled in grade 4 in 1963 who were continuously in the schools and in grade 8 in 1967.) Percentagewise, this is explained as 24% of the pupils (69) entering the fourth grade remained in school uninterruptedly for five years. This gives a mobility factor of 76% for the remaining 210 pupils who did not have the advantage of uninterrupted school attendance. (See graph on Pupil Mobility.)

The study reveals at least three types of mobility: (1) the movement off the reservation, mostly to larger cities, through Relocation; (2) movement onto the reservation, mostly from nearby towns, to obtain work opportunities in O.E.D. projects; and (3) the movement from one community to another on the reservation.

In comparing the performance records of identical and mobile pupils it was found that the identical pupils rated higher than the national norm, while the mobile pupils rated lower than the national norm. Although the total number of identical pupils was small, it did establish a trend: performance records of identical pupils are superior to performance of mobile pupils in the Pine Ridge education program.

Many of the recommendations proposed in this Appraisal are intended to compensate for educational problems arising from mobility of pupils. These recommendations are within the range of responsibility of the Branch of Education to implement. There are more serious problems, however, as stated earlier. stemming from socio-economic conditions on the Pine Ridge Reservation. When these [illegible] alleviated the Education Program could then institute effectively the changes described under *Recommendations*.

I. SUMMARY

After an appraisal of the problems, needs, and recommendations included in this document, a reader may appropriately ask, "What is the basic goal of the Pine Ridge Education Program for Sioux Indian children? Will graduates of this school system be prepared to live only in an Indian society—or only in a 'white' society?"

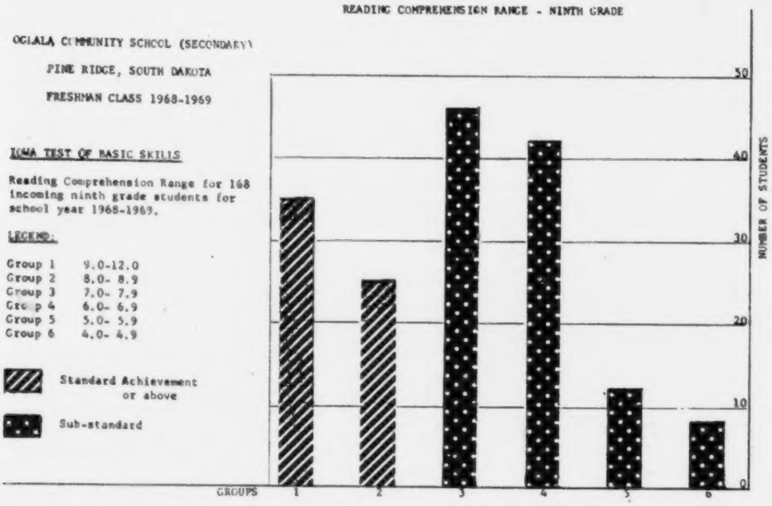
The goal being sought is not one of Indian youth becoming "middle class whites"—neither is it one of remaining completely "Indian." The goal is to assist Indian youth to live wherever they may choose to live; to make it possible for

Indians to live a good life, to maintain their self-esteem, to be self-sufficient, with a relative degree of happiness in any environment.

ADDENDUM

Charts and Graphs

1. Reading Comprehension Range—Ninth Grade
2. Pupil Mobility Study
3. Identical vs. Mobile (No. 1)
4. Identical vs. Mobile (No. 2)



READING COMPREHENSION RANGE - NINTH GRADE

OGLALA COMMUNITY SCHOOL (SECONDARY)
PINE RIDGE, SOUTH DAKOTA
FRESHMAN CLASS 1968-1969

IOWA TEST OF BASIC SKILLS

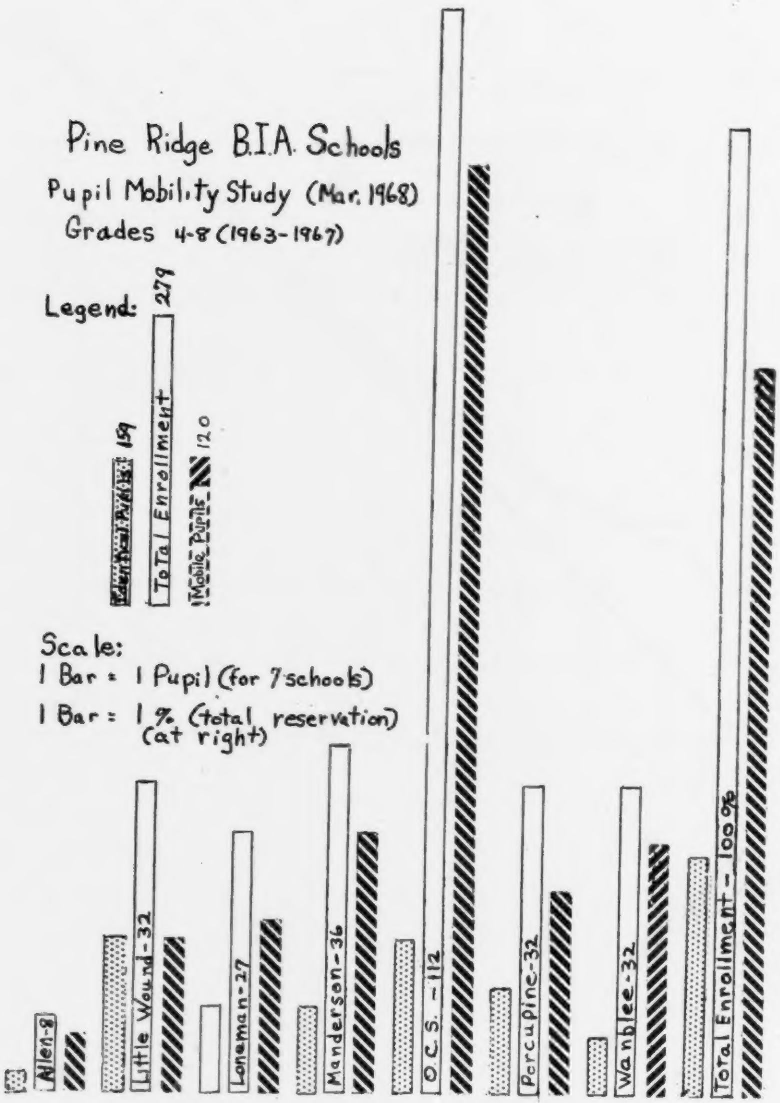
Reading Comprehension Range for 168 incoming ninth grade students for school year 1968-1969.

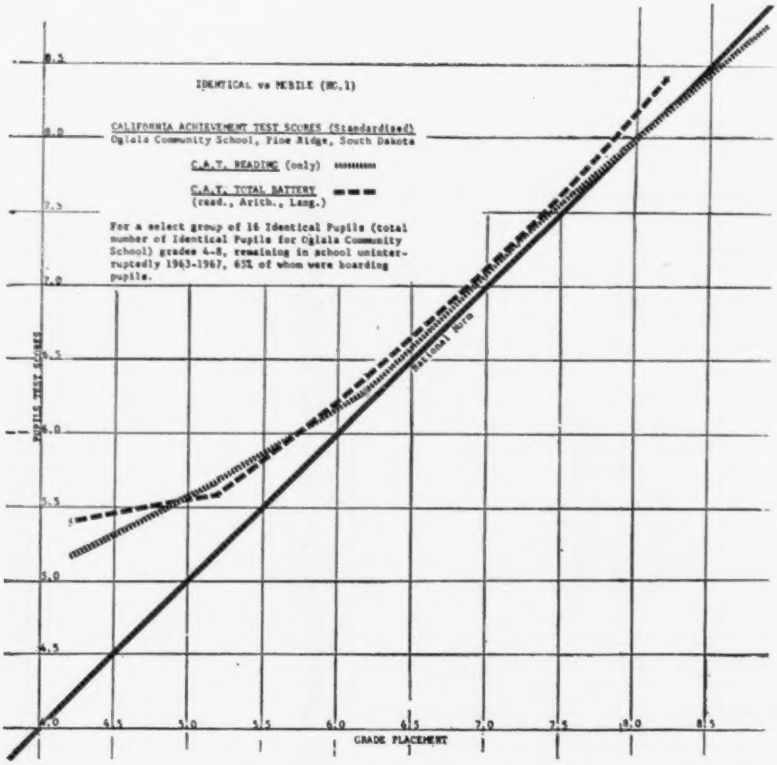
LEGEND:

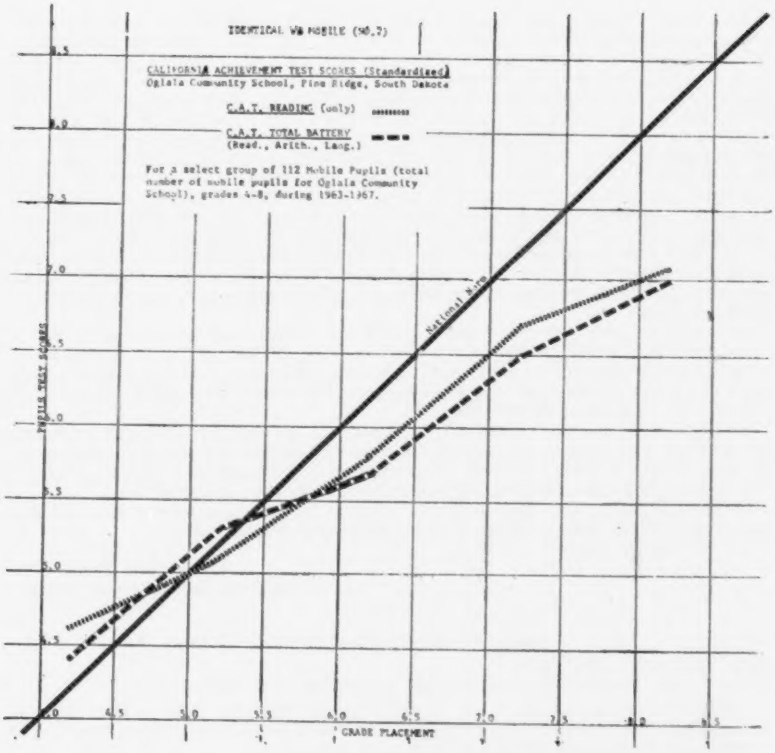
Group 1	9.0-12.0
Group 2	8.0- 8.9
Group 3	7.0- 7.9
Group 4	6.0- 6.9
Group 5	5.0- 5.9
Group 6	4.0- 4.9

▨ Standard Achievement or above

▩ Sub-standard


Pine Ridge B.I.A. Schools
Pupil Mobility Study (Mar. 1968)
Grades 4-8 (1963-1967)
Legend:
159
Total Enrollment 279
Mobile Pupils 120
Scale:
1 Bar = 1 Pupil (for 7 schools)
1 Bar = 1 % (total reservation) (at right)
Allen-8
Little Wound-32
Loneman-27
Manderson-36
O.C.S. -112
Porcupine-32
Wanblee-32
Total Enrollment - 100%


IDENTICAL vs MOBILE (NO.1)
CALIFORNIA ACHIEVEMENT TEST SCORES (Standardized)
Oglala Community School, Pine Ridge, South Dakota
C.A.T. READING (only) ▨
C.A.T. TOTAL BATTERY (read., Arith., Lang.) ‒ ‒ ‒
For a select group of 16 Identical Pupils (total number of Identical Pupils for Oglala Community School) grades 4-8, remaining in school uninterruptedly 1963-1967, 63% of whom were boarding pupils.
PUPILS TEST SCORES
8.5
8.0
7.5
7.0
6.5
6.0
5.5
5.0
4.5
4.0
4.5
5.0
5.5
6.0
6.5
7.0
7.5
8.0
8.5
GRADE PLACEMENT
National Norm



OGLALA SIOUX TRIBE,
PINE RIDGE INDIAN RESERVATION,
Pine Ridge, S. Dak., April 16, 1968.

Hon. ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. KENNEDY: Within South Dakota there are approximately 40,000 Indians, including 15,000 on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. A good percentage of these people are unable to properly support themselves; this comes about because the Sioux Indian is a livestock man at heart. Ranching is the chief industry for a good standard of family income.

You have reached Pine Ridge traveling through a portion of the Indian territory or reservation. You probably noted that it is a vast country. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has indicated 25 acres per cow unit year-long grazing or 30 acres per cow unit which includes hay for winter feeding. The original reservation acreage was 2,786,540 acres. However, the allotment act of 1889 and subsequent sale and loss of allotted tracts reduced the original acreage until now there is remaining only about 51.5 percent of trust or Indian owned land. For the population and ranching activities this acreage is not enough. History shows a series of land losses for the American Indian. From the time when all of America was a vast Indian empire until the present day, the Indians have been pushed from one homeland to another and to progressively smaller and poorer areas, yet it is determined that there are even more Oglala Sioux today than there were in 1878 when the Pine Ridge reservation was established and they are confined to an area composed of some of the less productive lands in the State of South Dakota.

The Oglala Sioux Tribe stands to lose even more of its land acreage by a Bill being sponsored by Representative E. Y. Berry, HB 9098, concerning the Aerial Gunnery Range in South Dakota. This is a strip of land 13 miles north to south and 43 miles east to west, located in the northwest corner of the Pine Ridge Reservation, taken by the War Department in 1942 and now surplus to the needs for which it was taken. In the face of the drastic need by the Oglala Sioux of all of their land for their economic development, the National Park Service, by the bill sponsored by Mr. Berry, seeks to reduce the reservation by 133,300 acres, more or less. This will affect 19 Indian families, or approximately 105 members of the tribe now utilizing the gunnery range land for their livelihood, and will displace from 4,000 to 6,000 head of livestock. This is a very serious situation, Mr. Kennedy, and I pray that through your untiring effort the law making body of the United States Government will resolve the matter without a further loss of land by the Oglala Sioux. The United States Government has already realized approximately $44,000.00 more than the money it expended for acquisition of the gunnery range.

In order to establish the Oglala Sioux on a self supporting basis and rehabilitate the people to the extent that he may utilize the land which is his aboriginal possession and to reach a balance production capacity, will require more land. Yet we find that the Oglala Sioux may again lose 133,300 acres of its land to the National Park Service.

Our principal need to utilize our reservation is for capital or credit to finance production. The fund authorized by the Reorganization Act should be put to use to rebuild the Indian livestock industry and to provide capital for crop production on the reservation, which is physically suited for the program.

A thoughtful review of the above matters and any assistance you can lend the people of this reservation, will be most gratefully appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

ENOS POOR BEAR,
President, Oglala Sioux Tribe.

LONEMAN DAY SCHOOL, *Oglala, S. Dak., April 2, 1968.*

Hon. ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR KENNEDY: It is with great pleasure and honor that we extend this invitation to you personally and your committee to this reservation.

We want to welcome you to Loneman Day School.

We wish to take his opportunity to thank you for your interest in Indian Education, especially.

We, as the Education Committee, have something to offer to your committee in line with new approaches to better the Indian Education.

We are proposing a demonstration school at Loneman which we hope will improve our educational program. Our experiment will bring community involvement, giving responsibility to local people who are parents and who by rights must play a role in their children's education.

We realize that through your efforts that our future can be bright and can become meaningful.

Our problem areas include the poor attendance, language barriers, reading, low achievements, and the dropping out of high school can be attributed only to physical poverty as well as mental poverty.

We Indian people at Loneman Day School are attempting to do something about our educational problems.

We again extend to you a cordial invitation to Loneman. We envision certain courses of action that will hopefully improve our children's lot.

Respectfully yours,

RUSSELL LOUD HAWK.
JULIUS BAD HEART BULL.
DAVID LONG.
LUKE WEASEL BEAR.
ZACHARY HIGH WHITMAN.
AMOS BAD HEART BULL.

PROPOSAL FOR LONEMAN DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL

Loneman Demonstration School is a project jointly sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Monies from these two agencies of the federal government have been allotted to the Oglala Sioux Tribe who in turn operate the school in a manner demonstrating methods, materials, techniques, and procedures adapted to help the Sioux children obtain optimal results from their educational opportunities.

The concept of the Bureau of Indian Affairs contracting with an Indian tribe for the operation of a school is in itself unique. The Secretary of the Interior, Stewart Udall, has encouraged Bureau staff to consider ways to involve Indian people and tribal government in more meaningful ways leading to increased responsibility. Certainly, if the demonstration school does nothing else but provide guidelines and data relative to this concept, it will have far reaching implications in Indian education.

Specific problems to be attacked:

(1) Language development and Teaching English as a second language.
(2) School-community relations and parental involvement in the education processes.
(3) Home and school visitation.
(4) Cultural identification.
(5) Native language learning.
(6) In-service training and staff orientation.
(7) Guidance and counseling.
(8) Adult Education.
(9) Auxiliary services.

LONEMAN SCHOOL

To permit optimal staffing, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has contributed the physical plant and operating budget for Loneman School for the 1968–69 academic year. The Office of Economic Opportunity has contributed that portion of the school's budget which will permit the innovations later described in this proposal.

The school will be under the immediate supervision of a Director who in turn will delegate responsibilities to three assistant directors, one for Administrative Services, one for Educational Services, and one for Community Affairs.

The curriculum will draw upon those in current use in comparable schools but freedom and creativity will allow flexibility and innovation. In addition, special curricular areas will receive attention, i.e. (1) teaching English as a second language, (2) teaching the Sioux language, (3) art and culture, and (4) remedial reading.

Loneman School will become the focal point in the community.

THE DEMONSTRATION PROJECT AND ITS ORGANIZATION

The entire operation, and all personnel, are under the supervision of the project Director. A chart showing the staffing pattern appears on the following page.

The project utilizes General Services Administration vehicles and orders supplies and equipment through General Services Administration. It will take advantage of needed, available, surplus supplies.

Innovation and staffing patterns will be accomplished in the academic classrooms, in the administrative setup, and in dormitory operations.

Academic classrooms.—The most unusual departure from the usual in the academic classroom will be addition of a Teacher-Aide assigned to work with academic teachers. Also, the greater number of specialists, e.g. speech correctionist, English as a Second Language Teacher, remedial reading teacher, Sioux language teacher, will regularly supplement the regular classroom instruction.

Finances.—The funding of the demonstration school with its dual financing makes a nightmarish problem of proper fiscal accountability. In a normal BIA school much of the fiscal control and management is done in the Area Office and at the Agency level. Setting up the school independent of the Bureau, necessitates a full time person who can, in effect, serve in the capacity of school business manager. Further in experimenting in satisfactory staffing patterns, we will divorce the accountability and administrative functions of the assistant director, educational services, and place them in the hands of the assistant director for administrative services. This frees the educational director to be a truly educational leader and not dissipate his talents in these other important yet totally distinct areas.

Administration.—Rather than utilize the commonly used designations of: "Principal", "Academic Head", etc., and their usually accepted job descriptions, there will be an attempt made to separate administrative functions from educational and community operations. Thus, the demonstration school will attempt to breathe life into the oft quoted desideratum: that educators educate rather than use their time in other, less demanding, areas.

Resources.—An actively functioning school board will be chosen by the local community. Since this is a new experience, it may take some time and special training to develop responsible and active school board members. In the past we have been content to stress quantity, we are content to have more and more schools built in order to take care of the large numbers of Sioux children out of school. Now we are stressing the quality of education, now we want the best kind of education and believe the Demonstration Project can provide the guidelines we urgently seek.

The Oglala Sioux Tribe requested the assistance of Black Hills State in the consultation and training of the Demonstration Project personnel and problems.

An actively functioning school board will be chosen by the local community. Since this is a new experience, it may take some time and special training to develop responsible and active school board members.

The project will endeavor to cooperate and coordinate its activities closely with all existing services on the reservation. Examples of this area are: Public Health Services, Public Schools, Mission Schools, State Department of Public Instructions, Office of Economic Development.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs will cooperate in making available any services and help desired to the demonstration project. This has included visits to ongoing special programs in other BIA schools, services of BIA education specialists, and access to existing facilities and services.

RATIONALE AND ASSUMPTIONS

The Demonstration Project is based on these assumptions:

1. Indians want education but are becoming increasingly discriminating as to the kind of education they are receiving.
2. Indian communities and cultures are in the process of change.
3. Indian education is willing to effect changes providing it can be demonstrated such change will result in improved products.

The rationale to be tested in the demonstration includes:

1. The most effective means of teaching English to non-English speaking children is by use of the linguistic approach.
2. Remedial English and reading teachers can be effectively used to increase the achievement of needy Indian students.
3. The most effective school is a community school.
4. The most effective adult education program is one which is a part of the school and one which grows out of local needs.
5. Community action is a means whereby an Indian community can advance and grow in independence.
6. Materials familiar and meaningful to Indian children can be developed which will result in greater success in English and reading on the part of Indian children.
7. Those Indian students who are aware and proud of their Indian heritage will succeed more in school than those unaware and/or ashamed of their Indian identity.
8. Education can be structured so as to be viewed by the Indians themselves as a bridge instead of a gulf, as a friend instead of a foe. The "both-and" approach to Indian education is more desirable than the "either-or" approach.
9. Those students who speak fluently their own language will be better able to learn English.
10. Success in school is related to the degree of parental involvement in education. To increase chance of success of Indian students, one must increase the amount of meaningful parental information and involvement.
11. Indian involvement in education must be meaningful and be related to an acceptance of responsibility. A local Board of Education can be both meaningful and result in an acceptance of increased responsibility.

12. Through pre-service and in-service training a teacher's effectiveness in Indian education can be increased.

13. Increased teacher understanding is essential to effective Indian education, one method to increase understanding is through home visitation on the part of all teachers.

14. A guidance and counseling program is essential at the elementary level and can result in measurable improvements in terms of achievement and adjustment.

EVALUATION PROCEDURE

The evaluation is considered to be the most important part of the demonstration school: without an adequate and careful evaluation it would be impossible to determine the success or failure of the introduced items. A means must be had to measure the effectiveness of each of the new programs that is introduced. The success of the demonstration school lies not in the adoption of all introduced programs in other schools, but in selection of the specific combination of programs which will meet the specific needs of that particular school or reservation.

Staff.—The entire evaluation is under the control of someone thoroughly skilled in action oriented research and Indian educational techniques. He will assist teachers in the development of studies in their field of special interest as well as to develop project studies of his own.

REPORT PROCEDURE TO BE USED

Questions to be answered in the reporting procedures instituted will include:

1. A brief summary of the activities to date.
2. What, in your opinion, has been the success of these activities, as tested by staff judgments, statistical data whenever possible, numbers participating, continuing success, etc.?
3. What were the goals to be achieved and what were the judgmental or measurable successes or failures toward these goals?
4. When, in your opinion, will these activities be ready for demonstration?
5. What are some areas that need to be inaugurated, together with personnel and materials necessary?

A monthly report of the progress and programs will be due from each of the administrative divisions of the project. These will be sent to Washington so an accurate report can be studied in the Office of Economic Opportunity's national headquarters.

Individual staff members can initiate projects which will be reviewed using these criteria:

1. Feasibility of the proposal.
2. The design of the proposal relating to numbers, time involved, its demonstrability and built in evaluation techniques.
3. Cost-material and human resources.
4. Its chance of success.

I. LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT AND TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

Over the past years, there has been increasing concern over the problems related to oral English. The inability to speak English fluently and without an accent has been recognized by educators as one of the major problems facing Indian education.

Recent research has identified the Linguistic Method for Teaching English as a Second Language as being superior to the commonly used Direct Method.

By developing an expanded linguistic program, greater import in Indian Education could be realized.

The teachers employed in the demonstration school would undergo in-service training in teaching English as a second language, using the linguistic method. By preselecting teachers who had prior experience in the linguistic approach, the applicability of the demonstration would be restricted. The teachers utilized would be first rate teachers but would not have had prior experience in linguistics. A summer workshop would be conducted for the teachers to introduce them to the new method. Then throughout the year time would be made available for further in-service training and material preparation.

Since English poses such great and continued problems to Indian education, the use of a qualified remedial English teacher is considered essential. A companion problem to the teaching of English to Indian students is the question of meaning. It has been said that what a child learns is a function of the opportunity for learning as well as of capacity for learning.

The teacher of the non-English speaking Indian child is factually confronted not only with the necessity for teaching an English vocabulary, but also providing the meaning essential to the correct learning of that vocabulary. Many Indian children are totally unfamiliar with stop lights, trains, planes, elevators and a hundred and one other items which a child must learn if he is to live successfully in our civilization.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LONEMAN LANGUAGE PROGRAM

Regular classroom teachers will participate in a Sioux language program of at least a month's duration which will train them to be able to produce an adequate Sioux language imitation of the sentence patterns used in the first part of the language program he intends to teach to Sioux children, i.e., the teacher himself should be able to say in Sioux sentences such as "What's your father's name?", and be able to recognize the proper reply so that he can coach the child in the English reply. These teachers will also be trained to be able to reproduce and recognize replies to common utility phrases such as, "I don't want a drink of water," or "I need to go to the bathroom".

It is not intended that the teacher's rudimentary acquaintance with Sioux serve as a "crutch" for the child so that he avoids learning English. The purpose of this language learning session is to aid the child in more rapidly associating accurate meaning with his new language by eliminating the usual tedious process of waiting for some child in the class to decipher the teacher's meaning and accurately, or inacurrately translate to the rest of the class. The utility phrases are incorporated in the language sessions for both the expediency of the teacher and the comfort of the child. Having the teacher master a few of these basic language communication skills will make the strange classroom a forbidding place to the child.

A bonus system such as that employed by the foreign service for language learning or some other incentive might be offered to teachers at different proficiency levels to induce them to gain greater fluency in the Sioux language.

The Oglala Sioux Aides will be used in the classroom, but their function will not eliminate the teacher's need for the rudimentary language program. Aides are of great value to the teacher, but it should be cautioned here that there is a natural tendency among the beginners and younger students to ignore the teacher and constrict all communication to the aide. The teacher should be alert to this problem and encourage the child to bring his needs to him.

An in-service training program will be initiated for teachers. The following recommendations are made for this program:

1. For the two weeks' period teachers will watch the English Specialist or his equivalent give actual classroom demonstrations of language teaching.
2. A regularly scheduled teachers' meeting will be held on at least a monthly basis in order to discuss the philosophy and techniques of the linguistic method, and to discuss the problems encountered in the classroom and other locations.
3. A reference library dedicated to language teaching will be available to members of the teaching staff and other interested personnel.
4. The English Specialist will be available to observe English classes and offer recommendations for the improved teaching thereof, if requested by the classroom teacher.
5. Consultation services will be offered on a regular basis for the purpose of helping any teacher with any aspect of language teaching with which he is experiencing difficulty.
6. Language classes would be divided into two sections; one of which will be taught in the morning and the other in the afternoon. The English Specialist will teach the morning class for the purpose of establishing a pattern for the teacher to use in the classroom, familiarizing himself with the classroom teacher and his methods, providing a suitable sounding board for programs developed by the language specialists, and gathering information for future program development.

Effort will be made to expand the areas of English influence upon the child. That is, children should be provided experiences which would give them opportunity to be familiar with basic language appropriate not only to the classroom, but to the store, cafeteria, playground, home, and so on. The children need the experience of traveling about a good deal, especially at the local level, and discussing the things they see in English in order that their English language abilities will not be assigned to a "pocket" of their total development as is frequently the case with adult Sioux.

Individual or small group remedial oral English services should be offered to pupils daily for the purposes of aiding those pupils with their language difficulties and providing a group on which to experiment with techniques which might be expanded later for general classroom use, and helping to illustrate the needs and difficulties of all of the children of that group. The remedial sessions are particularly important. Authorities agree that in the normal native English speaking class, probably one pupil out of ten has severe persistent difficulties in articulation and should be referred to the correctionist. Some studies report one out of five students should be referred. The number of students who need to be referred to the speech correctionist would undoubtedly increase many times in a class of non-native English speaking children. It is clear that remedial oral English services should be a permanent part of any demonstration school language program.

A remedial reading program will be offered with a full time specialist available to work with children identified by the teachers as having reading problems. The remedial reading specialist will work on an individual as well as a group basis with the students. Scheduled classroom time will be made available and a special room will be assigned on a fulltime basis.

The reading program will be critically reviewed and a research design developed whereby we can measures the effect of starting reading before an adequate vocabulary is learned. Control classrooms in nearby schools will be selected and joint testing conducted.

II. SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS AND PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

Another major problem in Indian education is the involvement of Indian adults in Indian education. In the past, many schools educating Indians have erected visible or invisible walls around the school which isolated the school from the community. Many schools have taken the position that their job is to educate Indian children and this can best be done without the interference of parents who aren't aware of the value of education. As a result of this indifference by the school to the adult community, many Indian parents withdraw from contact with the school.

This is compounded by the fact, historically, that decisions affecting the education of Indian children were not made by Indian parents, but rather by governmental officials. Over the years this has created a dependency on someone else to make decisions affecting Indian children. The parents have felt left out and unnecessary. The parents look upon the government not only for decisions related to type and location of school their children are to attend, but also for clothing, transportation, food, etc.

The net result of all these factors has been a growing reluctance on the part of the parents to accept any responsibility for the education of their children. As a result, education has frequently become a devisive influence in Indian life. The older people felt education was a threat that separated the young from the old. Parents looked upon education as something that destroyed the home and the family life: something that created a gulf that divided.

The importance of parental involvement and the importance of meaningful school—community relations have long been recognized. The Bureau of Indian Affairs Manual points out the value of having the school serve as a community center.

The problem lies, therefore, not in the failure to recognize the necessity for parental involvement, but rather in how this can best be realized; or perhaps more basically can Indian parents become truly participating and responsible patrons of the schools?

The Demonstration School staff shall address itself to these questions and shall attempt to spell out specifically the ways positive school-community relations can be developed and to show the results of such action.

One specific method will be the formation of a functioning Board of Education. Traditionally, one of the major differences between public schools and Bureau of Indian Affairs schools has been the presence of a Board of Education in public schools and its absence in Bureau schools. Recognizing this difference, the Bureau has inaugurated a program urging the establishment of local school boards to serve as bridges between the school and the people. This policy has been ineffective in that these school boards have no legal role and no actual responsibility. These pseudo-school boards are called upon when roads need repair or when school attendance drops, but the board has no feeling of importance because it has no responsibility. The Demonstration School shall operate under a Board of Education chosen by the local Sioux community and which shall have the responsibility of providing direction and leadership. In other words, it shall operate as a public school board of education.

A Board of Education needs to be created in order to give the people an experience in operating it and determining possible things which a Sioux school board could have at other institutions throughout the reservation.

The board might contain nine members chosen by the community to serve as members during the duration of the experiment and be empowered to determine the amount of responsibilities that it shall have in order to assist the administrator. Some of the responsibilities that could be assigned to the board are:

1. To develop and recommend board educational policy and programs designed to provide the finest possible education at Loneman school.
2. To assist the Director in the selection of certain personnel for the school, and to approve the hiring of the staff.
3. To meet regularly with Bureau of Indian Affairs, Office of Economic Opportunity, and tribal officers relating to the project to see that adequate communication is maintained with all.
4. To effect positive school-community relations so that the community feels maximumly involved in the school and its operation.
5. To review and recommend curricular changes and additions.
6. To meet on a regularly scheduled basis.
7. To develop a policy on the general operation and conduct of the Loneman Demonstration school.
8. To accept such additional responsibilities as circumstances warrant.

School-community coordinator would be employed. Coordinator would be local Sioux and would act as bridge between the school and the community. Rather he shall devote his entire time to making education understandable to the community and to making the community understandable to the school. He will have community action skills in addition to his understanding of Sioux culture.

A specific objective of the "School-Community Relations and Parental Involvement portion of the demonstration school would be the preparation of a school-community guide. The guide would be developed from the experiences developed during the demonstration school. In other words, a manual would be developed and distributed which would contain the elements of a successful school-community program.

The school gym will be fully utilized by the community and other facilities will be open to the community. The school board will be charged with the responsibility of developing guidelines on the use of the school plant.

The facilities of the school requires surveys as to the available space for different activities which can be scheduled for use by the community. Many times the community people aren't aware that they are permitted to use various facilities in the shcool and due to this fact they don't feel invited to participate in school affairs. This is a new idea under the experimental school program and the Sioux has been acquainted with the school as a place where he enrolls his child and signs over complete charge to the administrator for all services his youngsters will need throughout the school year.

There needs to be some method of accumulating meeting data where the school is directly involved. Many times the general public has very helpful recommendation to make regarding the operation of the school. Many times these suggestions have been overlooked by the administration staff and the local people do not feel that they are accepted and will not offer their suggestions for improvement when solicited by school officials. When problems are presented and isolated they desire immediate solutions in order that they may not happen again or have some assurance made by the administration to see that it doesn't happen again. This has been overlooked much too frequently and creates resentment on the part of the parents who are very sincere in having school-community problems aired. They begin to lose confidence in the abilities of the staff when they report various incidents. It is desirable that some method be determined to overcome this obstacle. When this process is used the parents of Sioux children seem most content to see that action has been taken on their grievances. They may seem like a very local problem it is most desirable to see that the parents do get some satisfaction by having their requests receive recognition.

Things that we can do with the school in an effort to make it the center of the community are:

1. A meeting place for the community.
2. A social center where patrons, parents, and pupils may develop and enjoy recreational and cultural activities.
3. A reading center with school library facilities available when not needed for pupil use.
4. A community workshop with laboratory facilities in home arts and crafts.

III CULTURAL CURRICULUM CENTER

Often in the past, education has been looked upon by Indian parents and adults as a threat. Education meant the lessening or total loss of family ties; it meant the removal of family members from the home for long periods of time—perhaps for several years; it meant a gulf being created between the uneducated and the educated; it means the old traditional way was looked upon by the educated as being old fashioned or worse.

Indian families recognized the need for education but felt the price they were asked to pay was very high. For many years this "either-or" concept of education prevailed; either you become an American, accept the new way and travel down the road of progress to success, or you remain an Indian, retain the old superstitions and become a failure. Under this philosophy, cultural disintegration was common and Indian youth paid an enormous price for their education. Many Indians became caught between two worlds, with the resultant disorganization of family, community, and tribe.

In recent years a new philosophy of Indian education has been enunciated but remains largely untested and untried. This new philosophy might be called the "both-and" approach to Indian education. Under the "both-and" approach Indian students are made aware not only of the advantages and positive aspects of being an Indian. The Indian student is taught to be proud he is both American and Indian. He learns the positive features of both ways of life. He learns how these can be integrated into a meaningful whole.

Specifically this means that Indian education must do several things: (1) continue to stress the characteristics of the American democracy, (2) continue to teach American history but include a major emphasis, at all levels and periods in history, on the role of the Indian in the growth and development of this nation, (3) teach about the Indian, his culture, his government, and his problems not only in the past tense, but also point out the current status, needs, and hopes of the Indian today, (4) prepare role models for Indian youth to emulate.

The 1964 Indian Youth Conference for the Dakotas selected as its theme: "Preservation of Our Indian Heritage". During this conference, Indian youth time and again mentioned that schools today ignore Indian traditions and culture. The youth pointed out that the schools either deliberately or unconsciously were making the Indian students feel that the Indian way was the wrong way and the white way was the right way. A recommendation of the conference was for Indian history and culture to be a vital part of the curriculum from grade one through college.

In the demonstration school the older people would be utilized as teachers in the portion related to Sioux culture and traditions. They would be brought to school on a regular basis to tell stories, legends, history and traditions. In some instances, this would be to an assembly of all students; in other instances, this would be to specific classes who were studying a specific related area. In all instances, it would mean that frequently and deliberately adult Indians would be utilized as teachers and respect would be shown toward the older traditions.

In addition to using Sioux adults as instructors in orally presenting materials, the older people would be used as resources in the development of appropriate texts. Sioux history would be recorded in this manner: collected and written from the material presented by people in the community

A person who is unaware of who he is has no basis to be proud of what he is. Only through the process of instilling a pride in his past can an Indian face the future with any confidence. A very important element of the demonstration school program will be directed toward the vital, yet often ignored, area of cultural identification.

In a study conducted by the Indian Education Center at Arizona State University, supported by the United States Office of Education, it was found that Indian students who were less acculturated succeeded better in college than those who were more acculturated. In other words, the student that still had his own culure to hold onto did better in the non-Indian world than did the student who had given up his culture in his attempt to accept the dominant culture.

Dr. Karl Menninger, head of the Menninger Clinic in Topeka, Kansas, has been a strong advocate of a positive sense of identity for Indian people which is based on knowledge of who they are and pride in their heritage.

Collecting and compiling Oglala Sioux myths, legends, and stories:

1. The legends, myths, and stories will be recorded on tape and a library developed. The nature of the stories are usually biographies, local history, folk tales, lengends, myths, and songs.

2. These tapes will be available for classroom use as well as by adult Sioux.

Transcribing Oglala Sioux stories into English:

1. Translation from Sioux to the English language requires a special skill which only a few educated Sioux have. On our staff there will be such a person.

2. Writing is an art which not many educated Sioux can do. Especially when writing is geared toward the Sioux children for educational purposes. Writing select stories for classroom use and working with classroom teachers in the preparation of texts will be undertaken.

Educational reading materials:

1. Compile educational materials for the elementary grades.
   (*a*) Prepare several primary books with writing and illustrations for the beginners classes.
   (*b*) Complete books of Sioux stories and history which will be used in each grade; from first through fourth grade.
2. Establish a record library of Sioux songs and chants.
   (*a*) These records will be checked out by teachers.
   (*b*) Children will use these records with their social studies unit on Sioux culture.
3. Curriculum guide for classroom teachers.
   (*a*) Teachers need curriculum guides on Sioux culture for each grade.
   (*b*) Teachers will follow these curriculum guides in teaching Sioux culture.
4. Book illustrations and other art work:
   (*a*) Illustrate educational material.
   (*b*) Develop other types of art depicting Sioux culture, e.g. paintings, sculpture.
   (*c*) Work with Arts and Crafts.
5. Native language learning:
   (*a*) Collect books written on Sioux language.
   (*b*) Develop classroom instructional materials in the Sioux language.
   (*c*) Hold Sioux language class once or twice a week for teachers.
   (*d*) Teachers do not know the phenemes of the Sioux language. They will profit by knowing about the Sioux language.
   (*e*) Teachers will do better as second language teachers if they have some knowledge of the Sioux language structure and form.

IV. NATIVE LANGUAGE LEARNING

Closely related to the problem of cutlural identification is the question of teaching the native language (Sioux) in the school.

The proposed demonstration school would include actual instruction in Sioux on a regular and sequential basis. The instructor would be a Sioux who speaks Sioux in a pure form and not the idiomatic degenerate language now spoken by many youth. This would be a local person; one who would be considered a faculty member of the school even though the person probably would not be a high school graduate.

In the Sioux language class, attention would be placed on a variety of topics; not only would there be actual practice in the language but also Sioux speakers would come to the classes and talk in Sioux.

Specifically, the native language learning emphasis would be the following:

1. Teach Sioux language in the classroom to the students.
2. Teach Sioux language to the staff.
3. Experiment with actual instruction in Sioux in such an area as arithmetic or social studies. In other words, in an area where factual information is required, instruction in Sioux will be utilized with proper evaluation techniques so that its effectiveness can be increased.

V. HOME AND SCHOOL VISITATIONS

Most teachers in Indian education have never been inside an Indian home. Yet, some of these teachers have taught for many years on the same reservation.

There are two main reasons for the failure of most teachers to visit homes of their students: (1) fear that the Indians do not want to be visited, and (2) lack of time to make the visits. The demonstration school proposes to tackle both reasons. First, every teacher will be assisted in visiting the homes of the children. A teacher has a most important factor operating in her favor when she visits the home: the child and his school work. The school shall provide transportation and an interperter when necessary in order for every teacher to visit the home of every student at least twice a year. At each visit the teacher shall bring the school work of that child and shall explain it to the parents. The improvement of the child shall be noted and emphasized. Through the process of bringing education into the home, the Sioux parents will learn more about it and be in a better position to encourage their children.

In order to meet the lack of time problem, the school administration shall provide blocks of time for a teacher to make the necessary visits. During that period teacher aides will conduct the classes or other teachers will assist the classroom learning.

The child will accompany the teacher when visits to his home are made. The teacher will ask the child to explain in Sioux to the parents what each example of school work means.

Without ties into the home and support of the parents, education can never be truly effective. Through the process of home visitation, understanding and support of education should result. The *Handbook for Indian Education* states:

"A successful program of home visits is a planning program which may take several years to develop. It does not appear in full bloom overnight but rather involves work, sweat, and even tears. It is wise to start a home visitation program with the assistance of a local Indian school employee or local community member who is interested. Several meetings should be held at the school where the community is invited and where food perhaps is served. At those initial meetings, school personnel should make known their interest in meeting parents and in becoming familiar with the community. The school people should ask for assistance from the community or tribal leaders in implementing their home visit programs. Many tribes have active Education Committees and they, on request, will meet with local communities and will prove to be of tremendous help in developing school-community understanding and rapport."

"Start with a home where you know you are welcome. Take school work of the children to the parents and explain, through an interpreter if necessary, what the individual child is doing in school and why. Leave examples of the child's work at the home. Allow ample time for questions from the parents. After such a visit allow time for the word to get around. Then begin again with a different home—remember that sometimes you may not even get into the house, you may stand outside in the cold and the snow when you try to explain to some parents. The important thing is, don't get discouraged. Find consolation in the fact that many Indian parents are afraid you may be ashamed of their home and they feel ashamed to show it to you. But as your visits spread and your friendship with individual Indians increases, you will find no closed doors and no locked hearts.

"Home visits are not standard operating procedures in many Indian schools. It is something that many schools and educators are afraid to start or find easier to preach than to practice. Yet, perhaps no other single program offers such rewards." [1]

A second important element of the home visitation program would be actually having the teachers and all others unfamiliar with Indian life and culture visit an Indian home. So many teachers of Indian children have absolutely no comprehension of the problems and conditions existent in an average Indian home. What does it mean to haul all water five miles, chop wood for heat, and go to bed at dark because there is no light, eat bread and coffee for a meal, etc? Understanding and respect can best be acquired if one has had the opportunity to experience and see situations and conditions. Reading about it in a book or seeing it in pictures is an inadequate substitute.

Besides the benefit accruing to the teacher in added insight, the local community would join also. A sense of accomplishment would result through the mobilization of sufficient homes to accept teachers and to provide the proper atmosphere. In other words, the involved homes would feel a sense of responsibility knowing that they were playing a vital part in the orientation of the teachers.

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[1] Robert A. Roessel, Jr., *The Handbook of Indian Education*, p. 50.

The role of visitor requires background information on how to react in a preliminary home visit situation. They require advance warning on the expectations of these parents and need some type of support in order not to feel uneasy.

Some of the questions that the teacher could be thinking of during her visit to the home are:

1. What roles have the children in the family pattern of responsibilities?
2. What is the pattern of authortiy in the family?
    - (*a*) Centered on one adult.
    - (*b*) Shared by parents.
    - (*c*) Democratic.
    - (*d*) Autocratic.
    - (*e*) Laissez faire.
    - (*f*) Inconsistent.
3. What are the types of limits placed on the child and how are they communicated?
4. What evidences are there of family values?
    - (*a*) Education.
    - (*b*) Material possessions, belong to responsible roles within the community.
    - (*c*) Progressiveness.
5. What possessions are valued by the family?
6. What evidence of religious orientation are present?
7. What are family rituals?
8. What roles do parents play that serve as models for the children? Are sex roles clearly delineated or are they merged?

The questions posed above may not be answered during the home visit but occasions will arise later when it can be, or discussions held with other personnel who will be visiting the same home. However, the compilation of data on these visits will have their value in determining how the total program can be improved to meet the needs of the youngsters. It will provide some basis for making recommendations on how other schools on the reservation might operate. The data collected should not necessarily be completed in the home but after the visit has been completed in order to eliminate the prying feeling that the people might have.

Sioux families do have values which are not usually outwardly expressed in the anglo fasion but they deserve to be honored. It was expressed somewhere that the parent whose value system tends to include the same values the school holds usually gets involved in school matters. If we can determine what these values are we will achieve a far greater success in our program to get the parent to participate in school affairs.

The corollary to the home visitation program on the part of the school staff is the school visitation program for the community members. It is planned to encourage parents to visit the school as guests of the school. During these visits the parents will eat in the school dining hall. They will visit the classrooms in which their children are located. The parents and visitors will take part in the activities of the school, adult education, recreation, arts and crafts, citizenship, consumer education, etc.

In time, the parents will understand better the school and education. Most importantly, the parents will begin to feel the school is not a place where children are placed and kept but that the school is responsive to their needs and is a place where they do have a responsibility.

Specifically, through community meetings the concept of school visitation will be explained. The school board will be leaders in helping the community understand. The parents, while at school, will contribute through telling stories, etc. In other words, the parents will earn their keep so that they feel they have made a contribution to the school and its program.

VI. INSERVICE TRAINING AND STAFF ORIENTATION

Most teachers presently teaching Indian children to fail to understand the child and his culture. Most colleges have not developed programs designed to alert teachers to the problems involved in Indian education. Fortunately, on the Pine Ridge Reservation and elsewhere there is a growing realization that a good teacher in St. Louis may not be a good teacher on the Sioux reservation. Consequently, these colleges and universities are preparing special courses and programs designed to prepare teachers for work in Indian education.

It is important for a teacher or an administration to know how a child feels about himself, his school, his family and his community. The way a child feels colors his approach to life. Confidence and happiness bring an interest to learning, while insecurity, rejection, or a feeling of inadequacy, may bring hostility or withdrawal.

A good educator must be able to make an intelligent judgment based on facts concerning the life of the Indian student. Because Indian children usually grow and materialize in a culture that is different from the culture under which most teachers have lived, it is of the utmost importance that educators know facts about the Indians' culture, the pupils' families, and the community in which they live. Only by accumulating such knowledge can educators make valid interpretations concerning the arts of Indian children and only then can they hope to understand the child.

Without the kind of preparation which equips the teacher to understand certain successful and unsuccessful methods and materials, permanent damage can be done to both teacher, child and community. Combined with the need to be familiar with effective methods and materials is the deeper need to understand the underlying reason for the success of one method and the failure of another. Certainly the values of the culture must be known so the teacher is aware of what she is doing.

The demonstration school will attempt to do three things in teacher preparation.

First, select some of the staff on the basis of their having either the actual instruction in Indian education or having experience with Indians or have taken Indian education courses.

Second, provide in-service education for those staff members who neither have experience with Indians nor have taken Indian education courses.

Third, provide in-service education for all staff members not only to provide for increased understanding but also to keep abreast of the latest educational understanding but also to keep abreast of the latest educational approaches. This would include an important program for the teacher aides and other subprofessionals who would be local Indians, and yet who, through a structured in-service program could advance in job opportunity.

It would be important to determine whether an adequate in-service training program could be developed. Isolation and the limited number of staff make it a difficult proposition for a university to provide such service. The demonstration school would attempt to develop a comprehensive in-service program for all staff members utilizing whatever help existing colleges would provide but also using personnel located on the reservation who have skills and experience which equip them to make a real contribution to the staff.

Specifically the demonstration school would:

1. Conduct or arrange for an initial training program for all teacher aides lasting at least two weeks.
2. Conduct or arrange for an initial training program for all sub-professional personnel including home counselors, school-community aides, etc. lasting at least two weeks.
3. Provide on a continuing basis in-service training for all staff including such areas as Indian education, child development, language development, community organization, etc.
4. Offer GED and college credit courses for those staff and community members interested.
5. Hold an annual invitational Indian education conference for Bureau of Indian Affairs, public school, and tribal leaders from all over the United States to acquaint them with the plans and programs of the demonstration school—to share with them and to expand horizons.
6. Hold conferences for Sioux educators and tribal leaders—in this way acquaint people intimately involved in Sioux education with the school.

VII. PROPOSAL FOR A COUNSELING PROGRAM FOR THE LONEMAN DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL

Procedures

Individual counseling.—It is proposed that individual counseling be made available to all students including beginners. Full time counselor and Sioux aide should be sufficient to provide this service. Interviews should be held in a room that provides privacy. This room should be furnished with comfortable chairs and a low table so that counselor and client can sit together side by side. Small objects for the young client to manipulate with his hands should be provided.

Typical office furnishings should be avoided. Counselor should be provided with office space in addition to the counseling rooms.

Procedures.—The initial intake interview should be conducted by the Sioux aide. He should try to establish the idea that counselors are friends. After the get acquainted session in Sioux, the aide should introduce the counselor to his client. The counselor at this point can begin establishing rapport and creating the on-going relationship which forms the basis of the counseling process.

After the initial interview, subsequent interviews should take place at regular intervals. The most immediate problem the counselor will encounter in these sessions will be the reluctance on the part of the Sioux children to say anything at all at first. This problem can be coped with by asking the client to draw the Bender designs. After the client finishes the design he can be asked to say what they mean to him, it is suggested that the designs not be interpreted clinically unless a psychometrist, or at least someone familiar with the Koppitz norms is available.

Special attention should be given clients who have personal and social problems. The active cooperation of teachers and staff should be encouraged for referral.

At about the age of ten, select a group of twenty to twenty-five percent of pupils in terms of:

1. School achievement.
2. Quality of spoken English.
3. Independence of personality.

Put them into a special group for two hours a day, with a program of high standard English, math, and other basic subjects.

Inform them and their parents that they are selected as probable high school graduates and possible college students. Attempt to build an espirit de corps among this group, but at the same time work to help them avoid snobbery. Keep them in with the total groups for arts and crafts, music, and some of the other school subjects. Develop a group counseling program for this group. Steer them into a high school which has a good college preparatory course and also a good industrial-commercial course. Maintain the counseling program through the high school years.

Home visits.—Counselor would have as his goal at least one visit to the home of every client with whom he counsels. He would make as many more home visits as time permits. Ideally he should be familiar with the home and parents of every single client.

Familiarization with home life of clients.—Counselor early in the year should spend at least 24 hours visiting in a home with a Sioux family. Such an experience will enable him to counsel with Sioux children in a much more understanding way.

Testing.—The testing program should be divided into three parts: (*a*) research and standardization, (*b*) individual testing referrals and other students with particular problems, and (*c*) group testing as needed by the demonstration school. The counselor should lend his services to the staff for the development of an adequate testing program for the school.

In the area of individual testing of referrals it is recommended that the counselor use extreme caution when interpreting test results. No test standardized on an urban Anglo population will render valid information about Indians.

Development of the personal approach in the classroom.—It is proposed that counselors work from the very beginning with teachers staff to develop a curriculum that is consistent with what we now know about personality development and mental health. Counselors should make a definite effort to be included in all curricular planning sessions.

Counseling for dropouts.—There will be in the area many teenagers who have dropped out of school, who are unemployed, unoccupied, and bored. This particular group could be greatly benefitted by the counseling process. It is hereby proposed that counseling be made available to all teenage school dropouts for the year 1968–69.

VIII. ADULT EDUCATION

One of the areas of greatest need and greatest past failure in Indian education has been adult education. Sioux adults over twenty-five years of age have, on the average, completed less than seven years of school. This makes a problem for communication not only in education but in all areas.

Several philosophies have dominated the Bureau of Indian Afairs in the past years. The first one felt that there was such tremendous need for elementary and secondary education that adult education was not practical. Under this philosophy the adult population was "written off" and all effort was centered on the children.

The existing philosophy recognized the importance of adult education and has vastly increased the expenditure of funds aimed in this direction. However, the success of the present Bureau of Indian Affairs Adult Education program is subject to serious question. At best, it can be said that efforts are being made and some of the adult education programs are successful. At present, many of the adult educators hired by the Bureau of Indian Affairs are not actually engaged in adult education but are doing a variety of other tasks. Indian adult education today is generally divorced from the school and the community. It may use school facilities but usually is taught on a circuit rider approach which means the adult education teacher arrives for classes once or twice a week. The adult education program is not fitted into the existing education program and rarely does the community and the people feel that it is their program.

The adult education program would not be a discrete educational program but rather would be a part of the total school program. Education would be a partnership between the school and the people and between the children and the parents.

The adult educator would be a person skilled in community development for much of his work would take place away from the school.

Community development is viewed as one of the major needs facing all Indian reservation communities. In the past, and even today, the expert makes policy and develops programs. The local Indian community is often a pawn in the hands of the people above and beyond—the person with professional training and technical skills. No one is denying the necessity of having such assistance, but today Indian people are becoming increasingly concerned over the fact that local communities are rarely consulted until after a decision has already been made. Indians want to be involved.

Indian leadership is increasing its demands for a major role in the determination of the future of the Indians themselves.

Community development as such is a new concept in Indian education particularly that part which stresses local involvement and decision making. One problem facing a community development worker is what role he will play in the community if he is an outsider and not accepted, his help will be limited. The demonstration school will employ an adult educator who will in fact be a community development worker. He will have an accepted role in the community and, therefore, it would be possible to judge his success or failure based on an approach which should enhance his success.

An important concern of the adult educator (community development person) will be the acceptance of responsibility on the part of the local community for their school. This can be accomplished and must be accomplished if Indian education is to break the chains of dependence which presently bind most Indian communities.

It is certainly the aid of the adult program to be kept as flexible as possible to relate to the community and to develop a program based on the problems and needs identified by the people themselves.

A trained Sioux will be hired to fill this position. He would be able to speak the language, understand reservation problems and relate in positive and meaningful ways the adult program into the total educational program. Sioux parents are usually unaware of the complexity of education their children are experiencing. They usually are unfamiliar with really what education is. Through the kind of adult program now being proposed, bridges of understanding would be built and walls of ignorance torn down. The adult educator will take part, during portions of the summer months, in existing college courses in community development and adult education in Indian education. Thereby, his own skills will be sharpened.

Specifically, the project would:

1. Establish adult education classes in areas selected by the community.
2. The school will open its doors to full use by the community.
3. Assist local Sioux in contracting for such services as they are able to provide, such as laundry, meat, etc.
4. Provide training in citizenship and consumer education.

THE WARRIOR DROPOUTS

ROSALIE H. WAX

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WHITEMAN MEDICINE, INDIAN MEDICINE, AND INDIAN IDENTITY ON PINE RIDGE RESERVATION, S. DAK.

(By Luis S. Kemnitzer, San Francisco State College)

(Presented at meetings of Society for Applied Anthropology, Washington, D.C., May 6, 1967. This paper is based on information gathered incidental to research supported by National Institutes of Health, Grant MH-23,090-01. Thanks to W. Goodenough, S. E. Gill, E. Maynard, M. Miller, and C. Mindel for reading and commenting on an earlier version.)

Since the United States Public Health Service took responsibility for Indian Health in 1956, much progress has been made in plant, services, and the health picture of Indians. This is true throughout the areas where the PHS Division of Indian Health has concern, as well as in the Aberdeen Area, of which the Pine Ridge Service Unit is a part. Although figures for Pine Ridge Service Unit are not available, this unit contributes significantly to the following demonstration of progress in the Aberdeen Area as a whole[1]: From 1955-57 to 1962-64, infant mortality was reduced by 37.2%; deaths from tuberculosis declined by 39% in a comparable period; tuberculosis morbidity declined 36.3% in the same period. Reductions of the same magnitude are reported for deaths from influenza, pneumonia and gastritis, and for measles and dysentery morbidity. Significantly, AMA discharges from the Rapid City TB Sanatorium declined from 35% of total discharges in 1955 to 2% in 1965. Services also increased in the first nine years of DIH responsibility: Hospital admissions rose 52%, average daily patient census rose 28%, outpatient visits rose 56%, and dental examinations rose 77%. Epitomizing this improvement, the Pine Ridge Hospital, expanded significantly since transfer from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the Public Health Service, recently received a three-year accreditation—the highest—from the Joint Commission on Hospital Accreditation.

In spite of this progress, neither Indians nor Public Health Service personnel are satisfied with the situation. Morbidity and mortality rates for communicable diseases are still higher than those for the rest of the US population; living and working conditions for PHS personnel are not attractive, especially for those used to city life; preventive medicine is frustrating at best; utilization of services is whimsical; and contacts between personnel and Indians are often disappointing to both parties. While much progress has been made in medicine and in facilities in the last 25 years, apparently not much progress has been made in cross-cultural understanding since Alice Joseph reported on interpersonal relations in BIA hospitals in the Southwest, and Scudder Mekeel commented on intercultural relations on Pine Ridge Reservations.[2] In this paper I aim to explore one small aspect of this complex problem, namely, the way a Teton Dakota Indian's views of himself and the doctor enter into the contact, and the implications of the contact in the reinforcement of his identity.

Indians inject two sets of ideas into their dealings with the personnel of the Public Health Service. These ideas contribute to their identity, their "Indianness." The first set has to do with the cognitive aspect of their identity. Through this is filtered what they know, or think they know, about the Public Health Service, the Federal Government, white people, doctors, and the relationships between Indians and white people. The second set has to do with the normative aspect of their identity, and consists of rules for behavior. These include rules governing how an Indian should treat others, how he should be treated by others, and how he should react to sickness and other misfortune. These ideas influence the way Indians perceive and approach contacts with Public Health Service personnel, and are reinforced by the experiences Indians have in these contacts. Both sets of ideas differ enough from the ideas that Public Health Service personnel have about their contacts with Indians that the result is behavior on both sides that is sometimes puzzling and frustrating, each to the other.

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[1] "Data on Indian Health—Aberdeen Area" Division of Indian Health Area Office. Aberdeen, South Dakota, August 1966. Aberdeen Area includes Iowa, Michigan, Nebraska, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

[2] Alice Joseph: "Physician and Patient. Some aspects of inter-personal relations between physicians and patients, with special regard to the relationship between white physicians and Indian patients." *Applied Anthropology* 1:4(1942)1-6; Scudder Mekeel, "Comparative notes on the 'Social role of the settlement house' as contrasted with that of the United States Indian Service." *Ibid.*, 3:1(1943)5-8.

Most Dakotans would say, if asked, that the Federal Government is taking care of Indians because of treaty obligations, in partial payment for stealing the Indians' land. Indians are getting little enough return for the loss of land, they say, and the government is always trying to renege on its debt. In addition, white people hate Indians, and don't really care whether they get good treatment or not. Indians have observed that, with few exceptions, all the doctors at Pine Ridge for the last eight years have been young MD's serving out their military obligations in the PHS instead of the military service, and stay no longer than the required two years. The inference that most Indians make is that inferior doctors in the past, and students who aren't really qualified now, are sent to the reservation to "experiment" on Indians. Although the hospital is modern and has facilities for surgery, a shortage of necessary graduate nurses compels referral of surgical cases to other hospitals in Omaha or Rapid City, and Indians assume that this is done because the young students don't know how to cope with the really hard cases.

It is generally believed that before the whiteman came Indians never got sick. Indigestion and wounds were the only conditions Indians had to worry about. Sanitation was no problem because there was plenty of room, and people would move anytime they wanted. People got all the food they wanted, and ate the right kind, that is, they had plenty of meat all the time. The water was pure. The people took sweat baths that purified them physically as well as spiritually, and lived in tepees, so that even in the winter time they had plenty of fresh air, and didn't get overheated. Now hardly anybody takes sweat baths, and they live in whitemen's houses, and the air in them is stale and overheated. Whitemen's food, such as flour, canned food, salty food and sugar, makes people weak. Besides, they say, the whiteman brought a lot of "catching" diseases, among which Indians include tuberculosis, pneumonia, measles, whooping cough, venereal diseases, ear infections, and kidney infections. They also brought other diseases that Indians say aren't catching but are caused by living like white people: diabetes, cancer, heart trouble, and gall stones. Older people maintain that mental retardation also came with the whites.[3] Since the whiteman is responsible for the presence of these diseases, he is naturally responsible for their treatment.

In times past, Indians say, Indian doctors knew many remedies and had much power, not only to cure what diseases Indians got, but also to deal with other misfortunes. However, their power had dissipated since the whiteman conquered the Indians, because life has become so disorganized and the medicine men are not living according to strict moral codes. Some miraculous cures still happen now and then, and non-Indian doctors are reputed to have tried to cheat the rightful Indian owners out of the medicine responsible for these cures. But most Indians have lost faith in Indian medical technology, and therefore the medicines won't work. You have to have faith in any curing method before it will work, is an aphorism widely quoted. Although it may be true that most Indians have lost faith in Indian medical technology as a whole, nevertheless every household I had contact with had access to, and used, at least one Indian remedy.

Although the hospital at Pine Ridge town, the agency, is modern and well-equipped, it is the only full-time medical facility on the reservation. People who live in communities up to ninety miles away must find their own way in to the clinic, or wait for the once-a-week clinics in their own communities when a doctor is in attendance. Two, sometimes three, field public health nurses visit in the "districts" as these outlying communities and their satellite communities are called, but they must spread their services over some 3000 square miles and 9000 people. When patients do come in to the Pine Ridge clinic, there are between 200 and 300 people there (the average number of out-patients using the Pine Ridge clinic for the first three months of 1967—including weekends—is about 90), and some wait all day and leave before they are seen. If a patient has no car he must walk or hire somebody to drive him, at a cost to him of five dollars from Wounded Knee, twenty miles away, or fifteen dollars from Wanblee, ninety miles away. A patient from the districts looks around and sees only the patients who live in Pine Ridge town. He concludes that they are flooding the clinic and taking away services due him.

In view of the foregoing, a country Indian's view of the medical care provided by the Public Health Service is approximately as follows: Since most of the diseases that Indians suffer are introduced by the whiteman, whiteman's medicine is superior to Indian medicine in treating them. Besides, better or no, the whiteman has to treat Indians by treaty obligation in payment for land stolen from the Indian. However, the whiteman tries to cheat the Indian and sends incompetent doctors and substandard facilities in a grudging and minimal fulfillment of these obligation

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[3] Carl Mindel, M.D. Personal communication.

In the Indian's view, moreover, white men are dangerous and unpredictable generally. The first thing an Indian says to himself when he confronts a whiteman is *takto kahta he*, "what's going to happen?" Is he going to cheat me? Will he insult me? How long will he be friends with me until he betrays me? What does he want from me?

This is the cognitive framework in which Indians try to apply rules of Indian behavior in dealing with white medical personnel.

One basic law of Indian behavior should be stated both positively and negatively: Amiable social relations must be maintained; and, one must not express hostility overtly. This means that differences of opinion or interest can't be talked out in face-to-face confrontation, and that a person should withdraw from a situation where he is angry, confused, or anxious. Although Indians don't expect the same kind of behavior from whites as other Indians, the kind of argument or scolding that whites expect from their doctor is enough to drive an Indian away from any more visits. Again, if the patient is confused by doctor's instructions, he is liable to remain silent and withdraw at the first opportunity.

The first law is rarely spoken explicity by Indians, the second law is the universal first response to the question, "what is a good man?" A good man treats everybody equal the same. This means two things: First, no matter what the person's status or appearance, he is to be met politely, with neither condescension nor fawning. Second, each person is to be respected as an individual human being. When Indians are relating their experiences with doctors, social workers, welfare investigators, nurses, veterans' affairs or rehabilitation agents, even if the contact was fifteen years earlier, they feel it essential to remember the name of the agent, to place him as a human being. The teller of the story consults with his wife, thinks, and finally, if he can't remember the name, describes the agent minutely so I can recognize him on the street. In contrast, he is one of a hundred patients the clinic doctor sees in a day. The doctors who are remembered as good doctors are described as taking time to talk to patients, or as being interested in the patients as people.

When either of these rules is violated by the doctor or other agent, then the pre-existing negative stereotype of the Public Health Service is reinforced.

If the patient still needs treatment after he has withdrawn from the threatening, confusing or insulting situation at the Public Health Service hospital, there are still some steps he can take. He can go to one of the MD's in private practice near the reservation who cater at least part time to Indians. These are older men, who have been in the area for a few years, some of whom worked for the BIA before the PHS took responsibility for health services in 1956. Waiting time at these clinics is much shorter, since few patients go to these doctors. I have never seen more than six patients in one doctor's clinic at any one time. The few patients and the long residence means that the private MD knows the patients by name or kin, with the result that the visit is more satisfying and the competence of the doctor is never questioned. When the patient talks about his visit to the private MD he usually includes a comment about how the government is falling down on its obligation, and he, the patient, doesn't have to depend on the government for medical care.

If the patient cannot get to a private MD because of distance or time or finances, then one of a number of "Indian" healing practices is possible: herbs, traditional Dakota medicine men, fundamentalist Christian healing services, or peyote. All of these serve in one way or another to reinforce Indian identity and to deprecate whiteman's medicine.

Most middle-aged Indians know one or two traditional herbal remedies. Together they constitute a resource providing a number of remedies to members of any community. Although people maintain that the "weeds and roots" are better than whiteman's medicine, and some will point out that some whiteman's medicines come from plants too, usually they will not use them until they have had a disappointing experience with the Public Health Service. Even the most acculturated Indian who knows medicines observes the rules for gathering medicines. The minimal rules are, first, that whoever gathers the herb must offer tobacco at the place where the herb is picked, and second, the medicine must be protected from the weakening effects of menstruation by being kept outside the house or not picked until it is needed. These are explicity acknowledged to be Indian rules. No matter what a person's identification in other situations may be, when he gathers these medicines he is an *Indian*.

The fundamentalist Christian healing congregations are too complex to treat satisfactorily here, but briefly, the official argument is that all healing comes from Jesus, and with faith all things will be given for the asking. But Jesus sometimes works through the doctors, in fact the doctors pray before they work on anybody. But you don't have to wait in line for God to heal you. Indians are the lost tribes of Israel, and are God's chosen people. In the latter days the white people, the Gentiles, will be coming to the Indians for guidance, and that's starting right now (the ethnographers reinforce this idea). The white people stole the land from the Indians, and pretty soon God is going to come and drive all the white people out and the Indians will get their country back again. When a patient comes to a service to be healed he seats himself on a chair in the center of the room. The elder who has the gift of healing (received from God by prayer and fasting and sacrifice, formally equivalent to the medicine man's quest for power) rubs oil on the patient, and while the congregation sings, the elder lays on hands and prays for Jesus to come and heal the member. Other members of the congregation come up to the patient and lay on hands and pray. During the service, which is held in Lakota and English, the rest of the message about Indians' special condition is repeated, along with testimonials of personal salvation.

The fundamentalist congregations comprise a small proportion of the Pine Ridge population. An even smaller number of people are active participants in the Native American Church, but nobody knows how many people have attended one or two meetings of either or both churches in hopes of healing. Peyote is used as a sacramental hallucinogen in the rite, and is also used as a healing drug outside of any ceremonial context. People boil the cactus and drink the tea for digestive upsets, respiratory illness and more diffuse symptoms, eat the cactus buttons for diabetes, rheumatism, tuberculosis, hernia and pneumonia, and apply peyote poultices or use the tea as a wash for skin conditions. Indians who are not members of the church may use peyote in a mechanical and non-ceremonial way, but members of the church usually bring their ailments to the prayer meeting. In either case, there is general agreement among the users that peyote is an Indian medicine. God gave the medicine to an Indian woman a long time ago, and most people will say that it only heals Indians. Services in the prayer meetings are carried out in the Lakota language, unless a member of another tribe is present. During the services, the speakers emphasize the superiority of Indian ways of religion: "White people talk about God for a few hours on Sunday, Indians talk to God all night from Saturday to Sunday." The seeking of suffering, Indian form of prayer, kinship with animals and other natural phenomena, absence of competition and coercion in social life, and observance of proper kin behavior, all these are extolled as Indian, and therefore preferred, traits. Testimonies to miraculous cures from peyote or from the intervention of God as a result of using peyote are an important part of the service and of the informal conversation before and after the service.

The most widespread kind of supernatural healing is the traditional medicine man. Although there were many different kinds in the old days, at present all the known medicine men on Pine Ridge perform similar variants of the circumpolar shaking-tent rite, and are known on the reservation as *yuwipi*, "they tie him up." These medicine men do not have regular meetings and congregations with membership, rather they act as shamans, with regular helpers, scattered and irregular clientele, and a small number of people who attend every meeting they can, since the meetings are open to anybody who wants to come. Most of the medicine men claim they are Catholics, and members of all faiths attend meetings and consult the medicine man. A detailed description of what one couple did when the wife got sick will show how the contrasting experiences in the doctor's office and in the yuwipi meeting tend to reinforce ideas about whiteman's medicine and Indian identity.

George's wife Elaine woke up at her usual four AM time, made fire, and ate some left-over meat. By the time George woke up at eight, she was in excruciating abdominal pain and was suffering from a rash on her body. Their daughter and her husband, who lived a quarter of a mile away, took them the thirty miles to the hospital, where they waited four hours to see the doctor. Elaine can speak English when she absolutely has to, but she lets her husband interpret for her whenever she can. She graduated from high school, but feels insecure in English, and also feels embarrassed in the company of strangers. Her husband enjoys the challenge of interpreting, and is often called to interpret for other people as well as for his family and in-laws. So in the doctor's office George interpreted for his wife. The doctor said she had a gall bladder attack, according to George, and gave her some medicine to take right away, and said to come back tomorrow for some more medicine. Why can't you give it to us now? Because there might be another doctor on duty tomorrow, and he might prescribe different medicine. Well, I knew they were young students, but if they don't know from one day to the next what kind of medicine to give, we don't care to go back there any more.

When they came back from the hospital, Elaine was still in pain. The daughter and the son-in-law took a peace pipe full of tobacco to a medicine man who lived nearby, and asked him to come doctor Elaine. He was already going to doctor someone else that evening, but, since Elaine is a relative, and this was an emergency case, he agreed to combine both cases into one rite. The ceremony, called a sing, was to take place at George and Elaine's house because she was sicker. The family of the daughter's husband now started making preparations, cooking, making offerings to the spirits, and preparing the house. By the time everything was ready, it was after dark, and the sing started.

The materials used in the sing serve to affirm Indian identity: the tobacco in over a hundred tiny pouches; the sage; the sweet grass burned for the purifying smell; the tin cans full of earth and the altar made of gopher dirt reminding the participants of their connection to the earth; the eagle feathers and the deertails; the drum and the rattles. The medicine man prays to the same God the Christians do, but God sends the spirits to take care of the people, and the spirits understand only Indian language—not just Lakota, but any Indian language. Special and archaic terms are used in some places of the service. The medicine man uses traditional images to describe his power to call spirits and to heal. In many cases the spirits blame the misfortune of the client on his failure to observe traditional rules of behavior. The food for the feast after the ceremonial, moreover, is separated into Indian food and whiteman food.

After the medicine man set up the main part of the altar, he filled the peace pipe with six pinches of tobacco, offered to the four directions, to the sky, and to the earth. Members of the assembly sang a special song for the Filling of the Pipe, and somebody blew out the lights. Now the medicine man made a short speech about the purpose of the meeting and started his first prayer. This prayer was in cantorial style, addressed first to *wakantanka*, God, and then to the spirits (addressed as *tunkasila*, 'grandfather'), saying that he needs their help to use the Pipe for the benefit of the people, and asking them to take pity on him. Somebody lit the lamp again, the medicine man's helpers tied him up, and blew the lamp out again.

While the members of the assembly sang a song to God and then a song to call the spirits, the medicine man chanted a prayer again. Then suddenly the coming of the spirits was announced by the blowing of a whistle and the appearance of sparks here and there in the darkness. Another song while the spirits danced, and then Elaine and the other patients related their troubles. Others present asked for help too. Elaine's husband asked for treatment for his headache, another asked about a relative in the tuberculosis sanatorium. The participants sang a song to accompany the spirits' dancing, and then the medicine man told the two patients to stand up and be doctored. While the participants sang another song, the spirits doctored the patients by patting them gently wih rawhide rattles. George was also doctored, and he marveled at the fact that the spirits knew just what part of his body was aching and doctored him just there. The patients thanked the spirits, and after some more songs, one to sing for the dog feast, one to accompany the taking up of tobacco offerings, one to accompany the untying of the medicine man, and one to say farewell to the spirits, the lamp was lit. The medicine man lit the Pipe, and all smoked in turn, each uttering a formulaic prayer, translated as "all my relations." A helper passed around a pan for each to take a drink of water, with the same prayer, and then the feast began. The feast consisted of dog meat soup, fried bread and fruit gravy—"Indian food," and coffee, cake, crackers and store bread—"whiteman's food." The pot with the dog soup had been inside the center where the medicine man had worked during the sing, and the rest of the food was kept to one side.

After the feast everyone went home, and the medicine man cooked a tea for Elaine and gave George a piece of root to cut and burn on the stove as an inhalant. The next day Elaine felt better, and attributed her recovery to the sing and the Indian medicine. The hospital medicine was forgotten.

Nobody has surveyed the population to find out the intensity and distribution of the attitudes and behavior illustrated in these anecdotes. What I have tried to do here is show how general basic rules and statements are translated into action in specific situations. A superficial survey would show that Euro-American medicine is preferred over traditional medicine, that almost everybody on the reservation can speak English, and still Indians have a high rate of diseases of poverty and poor sanitation, such as respiratory and gastro-intestinal diseases, impetigo and children's ectoparasitic infections, and of diseases of neglect, that is, complications of chronic diseases. Here I have tried to show how a closer look at behavior can show that the preference for whiteman's medicine contains a large component of frustrated demand for payment due, and that use of English efficiently depends on more than just knowledge of the language. Further, I have illustrated how, in one case, a person's ideas about himself and his relation to the rest of the world can influence what he does when he is sick and faces different healing systems.

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FORMAL EDUCATION IN AN AMERICAN INDIAN COMMUNITY

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A STUDY OF THE THEORETICAL CHILDHOOD BEHAVIORAL CONSEQUENCES OF DAKOTA, WHITE-AMERICAN VALUE CONFRONTATION

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FOREWORD

This is called a theoretical study of childhood behavioral consequences for this reason: One with a psychological background, even if he had never heard of a Sioux Indian, could, on reading the dynamics of Sioux behavior and confronting them with white-American dynamics, say this or that would be the psychological consequences. Further studies will seek to document these conclusions. It should be noted that, although Sioux values are quoted from the literature, the major source was the writer's assistance to Tiedke as interpreter during Tiedke's dissertational investigation of Sioux attitudes, followed by the writer's own experience of seventeen years among the Sioux as school teacher, missionary and finally as superintendent of the Nation's largest private boarding school for Indian children.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this paper is to explore the psychological behavioral consequences in Sioux Indian children, caught between the dynamics they receive from their parents and the White-American dynamics they meet in the alien ecological area right outside their doorsteps.

METHOD

The method will be a developmental study of the Sioux childhood dynamics, then, in the light of modern psychological principles, to arrive deductively at the behavioral consequences.

LITERATURE

Although there is considerable literature in cultural anthropology on the Sioux, writing so far related to the area of psychological adjustment are very spotty and only indirectly applicable to our study. Artichoker (1957) studied Sioux scholastic achievement. Ross (1962) wrote on school attendance and achievement, and Mekeel (1934 & 1936) observed Sioux education. White (1963) made an exhaustive study of the urban adjustment of the Sioux, and Malan (1958) studied the remnants of the kinship system on the reservation. Magregor (1940) made a general acculturization status study over twenty years ago, and Erikson (1950) gives a chapter to the psychoanalytical interpretation of Sioux child rearing. Benedict (1934) and Mead (1956) wrote on the dynamics of culture and cultural change. Spindler (1955), C. Kluckhohn (1954), F. Kluckhohn (1961), James (1961) and Boggs (1958) have written on psychological factors in other tribes, but Havighurst and Neugarten (1955) have come closest to our area in their study of emotional and moral responses of Indian children of six tribes, including the Sioux.

DEVELOPMENTAL ANALYSIS

Every culture derives from its economy—its way of making a living. Once values are derived, they, in turn, entrench and reinforce the ecological values. As long as the economy is extant and operable, so long can the culture perdure intact. This is seen in the cultures and economics of even primitive peoples in Africa and the South Seas. Ruth Benedict points out, (Benedict 218) what may be a deviation in our culture, maybe a perfectly acceptable mode of behavior in another culture. As long as a culture has the ecological area for the exercise of its values and no need for compromising contact with other cultures, its mode of behavior is intrinsically acceptable and not to be challenged.

The unique thing about Sioux Indian culture is that the ecological foundation of the culture has been removed,—yet, the values deriving from that culture are still operating, still vitally alive. Not only has the ecological basis been removed, but the Sioux Indian today has been forcibly placed on a new ecological basis which does not fit his culture. Sioux cultural values are still operating, automatically looking to their natural ecological basis. It is not there, and a foreign, unacceptable ecological basis is there instead.

Unlike aboriginal people free to exercise their values on their own ecological basis, the Indian *must* live in the white man's world, on the white man's ecological basis. He is geographically and physically immersed in the white man's world, with daily, face to face contact with white people. Any exercise of his values which vary with the white man's values must be regarded as deviations. This is the unique cultural conflict of Indian and white cultures.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A brief historical background of the Sioux is necessary in order to understand how their values arose as sources of current Sioux dynamics.

The Sioux or Dakotas came originally from North Carolina and established themselves on the headwaters of the Mississippi about the middle of the sixteenth century. Sometimes referring to themselves as the *Occti Sakowin*, or Seven Council Fires, they were the most savage and warlike of the Siouan tribes (Hyde. 3).

The first historical record of the Dakotas shows them as fighters,—vigorously attacking the Algonquian Tribes to the north and northeast of them. In time, the Algonquins and their allies acquired guns from the French in Canada and the English on Hudson Bay and, by reason of their superior weapons, drove the Dakotas from the headwaters of the Mississippi into Southern Minnesota, around 1670. The Sioux bands slowly spread out toward the western plains and it was the Oglala Sioux who led the western advance.

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century, the *Tetons* of the Oglala and Brule groups first made their appearance on the Upper Mississippi. They came on foot, were poor and appealed to the Arikara Indians living a stable life in that area to help them. The Arikaras at this time were a powerful people, fortified on the great bluffs of the Missouri, with a total population of some 20,000 people (Hyde, 16). The Teton Sioux was a bold beggar. He would accept help one day, then lie in wait the next day for traveling Arikaras in order to rob and kill them.

Shortly after 1770 misfortune struck the Arikaras in the form of small pox at the very time that the remaining Sioux in Minnesota, having obtained firearms, moved down against them and swept them away.

The Sioux, obtaining horses and led by the Oglalas, swept westward. By means of the horse, a whole new economy was established and, in living off the buffalo, a whole new way of life developed. A horse became the greatest wealth of the Sioux and the buffalo became their livelihood.

In 1775 or 1776 a war-party led by Standing Bull went far enough West to discover the Black Hills. Other Sioux followed and most of North Dakota, South Dakota and Southern Minnesota was taken over as their land. In order to do this they had to drive out many other tribes, which they did with a vengeance. The Kiowas were driven far up the Cheyenne River. The Omahas and Ponkas were driven down into northeastern Nebraska, and the fighting continued until about 1792. Around 1786, Sioux attacked the Crow Indians who were living north of the Black Hills and drove them westward into the country beyond Powder River.

The Sioux then turned their attentions to the Cheyennes around 1794. A great war party of Sioux came upon a large group of Cheyennes camped south of the Black Hills, killed many of their people and captured the entire camp with all its possessions. Having established their superiority, the Sioux made peace of a sorts with the Cheyennes and let them go their way.

About 1796, the Sioux allied themselves temporarily with their enemies, the Arikaras, in order to attack the Mandans.

Sometime between 1795 and 1804, the Tetons began to trade with the French coming up from St. Louis. At first, contact with the whites was friendly but as more white men poured into their hunting grounds, the Sioux resisted. For the next sixty years, the Sioux were almost constantly at war either with their Indian enemies or with the whites. The struggles had their climax in Red Cloud's war which ended in 1870 and in the agreement of the Sioux to live in peace in an area covering western South Dakota and eastern Wyoming.

Six years later, in 1876, a large band of Sioux, disgruntled at government restrictions, went on an unauthorized hunting trip, General George Custer pursued them and the Sioux, led by Crazy House, wiped out Custer and the entire contingent of his five troops of the Seventh Cavalry, around 225 men. (Luce 23) It was one of the most momentous Indian-White battles in history.

The Sioux who had been with Crazy Horse were frightened and dispersed. Some fled to Canada. Some eventually went back to the areas of their reservation.

Fourteen years later, Big Foot led a small band of Sioux from his reservation to go to Pine Ridge to confer with the aged Chief Red Cloud. Since he had no permission to leave his reservation, he was regarded as hostile and a contingent of about 400 soldiers under Major Whiteside was sent out from Pine Ridge to intercept him. Big Foot and his band were discovered near Porcupine Butte and led to Wounded Knee Creek, about twelve miles from Pine Ridge, where they were surrounded and disarmed. The soldiers were not pleased with the number of old weapons they found and ordered another search. During the second search, a scuffle ensued, a shot was fired and the hotchkiss guns covering the Indians opened up. When it was over, 249 Indians, men, women and children were dead. The soldiers were of Custer's old Seventh Cavalry. An old score had been settled—in a manner disgraceful to the American Military (Lee, 11)

Wounded Knee marked the end of the Old Sioux way of life. The buffalo was gone, their wealth was gone, the wars of the past seventy years were gone. However, aware of their warlike superiority, their fierce pride remained and the attitudes and values that had derived from such a life continued and still continue.

The central values of the Sioux, deriving from their culture, and the following: Physical bravery, generosity, good advice, individual autonomy and leisure. (Magregor 124) These are the dynamics of Sioux behavior. We shall examine each of them, then examine the dynamics of American behavior (as outlined by Williams). We shall then deductively derive the behavioral consequences for the children in the light of modern psychological principles and dynamics.

DAKOTA DYNAMICS—"WASICU ANIGNI KTE"

One of the most impressive discoveries of modern psychology is that of the dynamic influence of early childhood experiences on later conduct. Children from the time they are born, learn their attitudes, goals and modes of behavior from their parents. Their parents, in turn, get their values, motives, goals and modes of behavior from their culture. Each culture has its own values, which can differ, sometimes diametrically from the values of other cultures.

As the Sioux child begins to structure his world, he is immediately aware of two environments: the completely permissive environment of his home, and the hostile environment, right outside his door step, which is the white man's world. Within his home, he can get and do anything he wants. He is first made aware of the outside hostile environment when he hears the above captioned phrase for the first time, the bogey man phrase that Sioux mothers use to frighten their children into conformity. "Wasicu anigni kte." "A white man will get you and take you home." This is a poignant phrase that never get in any of the cultural studies of the Sioux nor in any of the field reports, because it is never used in the presence of a white person. (If this is true, one naturally wonders how the writer heard it. The answer is that the Sioux do not regard the Jesuit Missionaries, who have been with them from their first reservation days, as white men. It is never thrown up to a missionary. "You white men." Several years ago, one of the missionaries picked up two Indian women on the road. One of the Indian women was blind, and as she was getting into the car, she asked the other, "Who is it? A white man?" "No," said the other woman, "It's Father." Hence, over the years, the writer, being a missionary and knowing the Sioux language, was able to gain many insights not afforded to other white researchers.)

Some years ago, as a missionary, the writer first heard this phrase. He was visiting an Indian family and, in the course of the conversation, a small child kept playing noisily nearby. The mother kept saying, "shhh," and finally when this didn't work, she said, "Shhh, wasicu anigni kte." The child stopped immediately and the writer thought, at first, the mother was joking. Later, when he heard the phrase again and again in other homes, he saw clearly that the mothers were not joking; it was the real bogey man phrase that they used. The child's first awareness of the outside, is that the white world is one of hostility. He has learned the fear from his parents who are unconsciously making the child internalize their own fears.

Whereas the white child, sometimes threatened with the bogey man, soon learns he does not exist, the Indian child, after hearing the phrase can look out the window and see the real, living bogey man going past his house in a pickup. Later, going to the general store, he inevitably hides behind his mother, because he is surrounded by many of them, who might take him home.

The very first exercise of his prime dynamic, individual autonomy, is thwarted by only one thing: the hostile white man outside. His first experience is one of frustration. This is how he begins life. It is suppressed, but the psychological dynamics of this are clear.

PHYSICAL BRAVERY IN WORK AND WAR

If an elderly Indian is asked today what was one of the greatest things a man could do in the old Indian way of life, a frequent answer will be, "To steal a horse." One must recall that, prior to the white man, the greatest wealth of the plains Indian was in his horses. Consequently, horses were guarded most closely, near the camp, and under constant surveillance. To be able to sneak close to any enemy camp, when capture was sure death, and steal a horse was an act of great bravery. This deed was highly praised by everyone.

Another frequent answer to the same question is, "To strike an enemy." A deliberate distinction is intended here between striking an enemy and killing an enemy. It was relatively easy to lie in ambush and kill an enemy while concealed. To ride openly in sight of the enemy and get close enough to him to strike him, then ride away without being killed, was a greater and braver thing to do.

Another answer to this question appeared (Tiedke) many times in this form: "To get lots of feathers and even a *vapaha*, warbonnet." This significance is this: every time a warrior did a brave deed, he was entitled to wear an eagle feather. He could wear them in his hair or on his lance. When he got enough, he could make them into a war bonnet and every eagle feather counted for a brave deed.

The writer himself has sat on the floor in many a Sioux home and listened to the old grandfather with his grandchildren around him, and tell these stories of bravery. A dynamic is being formed in the grandchildren, who are the school children of today.

In the line of acts of bravery, it must be pointed out that to outwit a danger by running away from it when one could not cope with it, was a part of bravery.

The other area in which the man exercised this prime value was in his work, which was hunting. Even today, shooting buffalo with a high powered rifle from a "safe" distance is extremely dangerous. The buffalo is extremely tough and very hard to kill. When wounded, he will charge. There is a very small area right behind the shoulder and close behind the ear where a buffalo is immediately and mortally vulnerable. Even a crack shot with a high powered rifle can rarely do it in one shot, as the writer has witnessed.

To run alongside a buffalo on a horse with only a bow and arrow for a weapon was an extremely tough and brave thing to do. Besides being extremely tough, the buffalo hates a horse and will attack it every time. (Even today, Park Rangers herd buffalo in jeeps and pickups.) Whenever a man went to work getting food for his family, he risked his life. Even as today men find their masculine status in their occupational role (Koch, 357), so did the aboriginal Sioux. His work consisted in a tremendous act of bravery, a supreme risk of his life. When a Sioux family saw its father ride out to work on the hunt, they never knew whether they would see him alive again. Once he had done his work and returned, he had fulfilled his end as a man and nothing more was required of him. Just having him alive in the camp was reward enough for the rest, and enjoying his leisure was enough for the worker-hunter. We shall see the relation to the value of leisure shortly.

One can see that the children have here a source for identification, but it must be only in fantasy, for the ecological basis for imitation is gone. But it must be remembered that to run away from a danger was a form of bravely outwitting it.

Through contacts like this, a value has been formed; a dynamic is in motion. They can be brave in fantasy only. There is no place to be brave, as they conceive it, in the world today. Later, if a danger confronts them, they can outwit it by *withdrawing*.

GENEROSITY OR SHARING

The old time Indian today, when asked what virtues the *good man* had to have in the old Indian way of life, will invariably answer: "Anytime you needed something, he would give it to you or share it with you, and he always gave good advice". (This latter value we will take up next.) When the writer would ask why this was, it was always pointed out in story form, as is the custom among the Sioux. Two men went hunting one day. One man killed a buffalo and the other man did not kill anything. When they got back to the camp, the man who has not killed anything said, "I have to feed my family." That's all he said and the other man said, "Take as much as you want." The next week the same two men went hunting again. This time, the man who had not killed a buffalo on the first hunt killed a buffalo and the other man did not. On returning to camp, the man who had not killed a buffalo said, "I have to feed my family." The other man said, "Take as much as you want." Then, in case one missed the point, the old Indians would go on to explain that, on a hunt, not everyone was lucky. Those who were lucky always shared with those who did not get anything. Even if one did not go on a hunt, he could always go to the *good man* and ask for anything and get it.

In the old Indian way of life, the very existence of the people depended upon sharing. "What is mine is yours and what is yours is mine," was and is a very real value. One could always depend upon another for whatever he wanted. This was not an intermittent thing, but a constant, daily give and take. There were no refrigerators and edible goods were consumed as fast as they were brought in—by the lucky ones.

This dynamic is very much alive today. An Indian with a good job must share with helpless relatives. He cannot say no. Jobless relatives will move in with an employed relative and live months at a time and not a word is said. School children will buy a candy bar and immediately break it in two at the inevitable request of the one standing closest to him. One who doesn't have automatically turns to one who has and asks. The children learn this from their parents from the time they begin to think. The child's current attitude is: I don't have. You give to me. And he expects it from the world at large. Erik Erikson says that the modern Sioux is a "compensation neurotic," "he receives all his sense of security and identity out of the status of one to whom something is owed." (Erikson, 10 3) This dynamic, creating excessive dependency and beginning in childhood reaches its full activity in adulthood.

GOOD ADVICE

In the old Sioux way of life, the good man and the wise man were the same. The two virtues had to go together. As mentioned above, when asked who was the *good man in* the old Indian way of life, the old Indians will always say, "He shared with you whatever you needed and he could always give you good advice." When asked what the good advice meant, the old people will say, "No matter how big a problem you had or how much trouble you were in, when you went to him, he could always tell you what to do, and he was always right. He was wise, and only older men are wise. Every community around the reservation has its older men to whom the people go for advice and who, in turn, go to meetings, invited or not, to render their advice. Numberless times the writer has attended Indian meetings. When things have gone so far and the younger men have had their say, an older man will rise and invariably begin with, "Anamagopta po! Wimachchala!" "Listen to me, I am an old man."—implying he is wise and therefore credible. The Sioux word *Ksapa*, "wise," is a precious one and frequently used in regard to good people. Children are constantly ridiculed with the opposite word "witko," meaning foolish. The attitude the child develops is in what he sees: it is sufficient to be wise, give advice, but the wise man is never a *doer* or one who carries out action. It is sufficient to talk and not to do. This dynamic is developed in the children, but it is not so forceful as the other dynamics. In the white man's world of action, as we shall see, this makes for much talk and no action—no goals beyond one's self.

LEISURE

The writer recalls vividly the first time, some years ago, that he asked an elderly Indian, eighty-six years old, the following question: "What was the best thing the old time Indians had before the coming of the whites?" Without a moment's hesitation, the old man said, "The absence of money. And I'll tell you why. The thing that makes you white people work all the time and run around all the time without resting, is money. Then you get some money and you want more, so you work even harder, and pretty soon you die when you are still young. We are not like that. Once we had killed a buffalo, we ate good and we were at peace. We had nothing more to do and we could rest. We would sit quiet and talk and we were well off. That's all we wanted, and that's the best thing we had." Since that time, this same answer has come back in different words many times. Once, on his way to an Indian celebration where there would be much feasting, the writer picked up an elderly Sioux along the road going to the same place. Wholly unsolicited, the old man, nodding his head in the direction of the feast, started to talk and said, "This was the best thing that we used to have. Before the white man came, this is all we did. We would kill the buffalo and then eat and visit as long as the meat was there. We ate good and we were well off and that's all we wanted." The men sat and talked. They talked about the things that they valued—brave deeds. They did these brave deeds in order to enjoy the telling of them during their leisure. This leisure they valued as an end in itself.

Today, as the old grandfathers tell their grandchildren about the wonderful things of the old days, they invariably end with the phrase "Na tanyanunkunpi,"—"We were well off,"—in the context of having plenty to eat and nothing to do. In the children, this creates the dynamic of cyclical existence (White, 17), no motivation beyond the next meal. The white man's concept of linear progress (we achieve more and more and get better every year) is non-existent in the young Sioux. They have nothing to work for. (White, 23). Their old dynamic of adjusting to the seasons (cyclical existence) drives them to just that and nothing more. Self actualization is blocked by biological needs (Maslow, 4). An old dynamic is thwarting growth. From the section on bravery in work it must be recalled that, once the man came home from his life-risking work, the family was so glad to have him back alive, that his physical presence was all the reward they wanted. He did not have to do another thing—just be there and exist, and everyone was happy. The young Sioux growing up absorbs this attitude toward the male role: mere existence in the home is enough. Even though the ecological basis for rejoicing in mere presence has gone, the dynamic still remains. There is nothing with whom to identify except one's self and one's existance. It makes for ego atrophy. This, is paradoxically, for the boys, a new dynamic: to do nothing.

INDIVIDUAL AUTONOMY

Of all the dynamics of child behavior internalized in the Sioux child, this dynamic of individual autonomy is the strongest. It means this: the child makes his own decision without coercion nor subsequent punishment. He is advised, but not compelled, and this pertains from his earliest years.

In the old Indian way of life, before the coming of the whites, the Sioux on the plains lived in constant danger of death—from the elements, from animals and from enemies. One's very survival depended upon himself alone, to make his own decisions. He must not learn to lean on anyone. Consequently, growing up in the relative protection of the camp circle, he was advised, but not coerced, and, if he made mistakes, he could profit, relatively safely there, from his mistakes and learn how to make right judgments. Ridicule was the only social control for unacceptable conduct. If he could not learn to make his own decisions in the camp circle, then he could not survive out of it, on the hunt or on the war path.

In field work with Tiedke (Tiedke) the following question was asked many times, "Would you spank or punish your child, if he did not obey you?" Among the full bloods, the answer was unanimously "No." Then, the people questioned would explain that it was sufficient to tell the children and advise them and if, after that, they did not conform, it was not the parents fault; they had done all they could. It is up to the child to make up his own mind.

For the past eight years, the writer has been superintendent of the largest private boarding school for Indians in the United States. Eight years ago, he was puzzled when he experienced the following scene for the first time. A mother brought her first grade son into the school office and announced that she was taking him out of school. The superintendent asked for the reason and he was told simply, "Because he wants to." When the superintendent inquired whether the mother wanted him to stay, she hastily assured him that she did. The mother, when asked why she didn't make him stay, replied, "I can't. He don't want to." The mother took home.

By the end of that first year, the writer experienced a little over one hundred identical scenes in his office, all founded on the simple assertion, "He (or she) wants to leave." On the school records, over the past eight years, are over 800 withdrawals with the simple notation, "He wants to go." The average is between 100 and 124 a year. The child is advised, but makes his own decision.

A twelve year old girl contracted Tuberculosis and went to a nearby Sanitorium for Indians. She was there one month when the parents went to visit her. After talking to her awhile, the parents went to the doctor and told him that they were taking her home. The doctor remonstrated and told the parents to make her stay. They said they couldn't because "she wanted to." Finally, the doctor told them that, if they took her home, she would be dead in three months. The parents said that there was nothing they could do about it, and took her home. The girl died almost—on the day, three months later. During the last three months, the parents saw that the girl was sinking, getting paler and thinner and really dying. They urged her to go back to the Sanitorium, but she refused. They knew she was dying, but would not coerce her. She had to make her own decision.

Examples of this dynamic working could be listed indefinitely: A small eighteen month old child, toddling around a rough floor with the sharp end of a large scissors in her mouth; the mother telling her to put it down, but would not take it away from her; a small boy, eyes red and watering from tracoma, but the parents would not take him back to the doctor because he was afraid of the doctor and would not go back; children, six, seven and eight years old, living in a tent and barefoot in the snow, refusing to go to school (they had never gone) where clothing and warmth would be provided, because "they didn't want to"; an Indian father, urged by a school authority to put his seven year old son in school, "Your right. I'll go right home and ask him what he wants to do; "an eight year old girl running away from school and telling her parents that the reason was, "The teacher sassed me"; an Indian mother, being congratulated on having a fine eighteen year old son, beaming and responding, "Yes, from the time he was born, I raised him just like an egg, real careful; I never made him do anything he did not want to do."

This dynamic of individual autonomy, deriving from the Sioux cultural system of child rearing, is vibrantly alive today. The child grows up insecure from lack of a structured life.

DYNAMICS OF AMERICAN BEHAVIOR

Having seen the historical and cultural sources for the dynamics of Sioux childhood behavior, we shall examine the dynamics of the dominant American culture surrounding the Sioux. These dynamics will be taken from the noted authority on American values, Robin Williams (Williams, p. 417).

(1) Achievement and success: This is in terms of money and secular occupational success, deriving from individual, driving effort. It derives from early Calvinism and the stress on individual effort as the frontier moved westward. The American hero is in the Horatio Algers theme that virtue will be rewarded by material success. The values of the business man dominate American life. Money is the biggest value we have and the white collar is the symbol of success—all stemming from individual drive and initiative.

(2) Activity and work: This is not only as a means to success, but is a value in itself. In America, the drive is to keep moving, to be active, to drive ahead.

(3) Being moral: Americans believe in and strive to something much higher than its actual plane of life. There is in American society a distinction between things as they ought to be and as they are, the distinction between ideal and model values. The world is seen in moral terms of right or wrong, good or bad.

(4) Humanitarian values: There is a feeling that one ought to help the underdog. This is related to equalitarianism values and is used frequently by wealthy people as a means to save their consciences. There are 30 million volunteers annually for charitable purposes.

(5) Efficiency and practicality: There is an unremitting drive to achieve better techniques for doing things. An "egghead" is one who is impractical and "technique" is almost a value in itself. Labor and management are both devoted to efficiency and practicality, but for different reasons. Management wants to increase production and labor wants to make things easier.

(6) Progress: The emphasis is on the future. The best is yet to come, not only in perfecting man, but in perfecting industry and the free enterprise system.

(7) Material comfort: There is a constant drive toward more leisure, more recreation, more and better kinds of food, better and more comfortable housing. There is a demand for labor saving devices in the home.

(8) Equality: This means equality of opportunity, not equality of condition. There is gross inequality of condition and equality of opportunity is decreasing because of the greater stratification of equality of condition. There are deliberate efforts to keep minority groups down, viz., negroes.

(9) Freedom: There are constant verbal affirmations of the value of freedom, which is the most widespread value. There is a laissez-faire demand for economic freedom. Much of this is verbal, because, as one group calls strongly for freedom for itself, it will restrict the freedom of another group. What is meant is freedom for their own group, the power group. The degree of freedom that one actually enjoys depends on where he stands in the social order; for instance, negroes have less freedom than anyone.

(10) External Conformity: This value pertains despite our individualism. We are a nation of joiners of "group individuals." We are largely "outer directed."

(11) Science and Secular Rationality: We like calculable regularity. We are

engrossed in the idea that science can predict or would like to predict. Scientific questions have more "absolutes" and this pleases many. Many feel that the only individualism left in our culture is in science, in inventions and discoveries.

(12) Nationalism and patriotism: We are conceited and egocentric about our country and our culture. We look down on others because they don't have the technological advances that we do. We have little positive evaluation of other countries and are not interested in them.

(13) Democracy: This is an abstraction from a wide variety of themes, such as individualism and liberty. The fundamental assumption is founded on the dignity and liberty and of the individual with a maximum of individual fulfillment and a minimum of government restriction.

(14) Individual personality: This is somewhat of a cult. Everyone should find his own level and develop as he wants, but the *de facto* situation is that the individual is much more used than being an end in himself. The theory is that the person should be an end in himself.

(15) Racism and related group-superiority themes: The value is on the superiority of one's own group. The individual is not an individual but a group member and an individual's stature is enhanced by his identification with his group. Whether we like it or not, there is a large segment of our society that believes its racial group is superior.

It was necessary to outline the dynamics of American behavior in order to derive deductively the impact on behavior of the Dakota child when his own dynamics confronts them. It must be emphasized that these dynamics, both of the American and the Dakota systems, do not operate as single and separate units, but are in continually shifting and recombining configurations, marked by very complex interpenetration, conflict and reformulation. (Williams, 468) At times, a single Dakota dynamic will be confronted with a single American dynamic, and other times the whole configuration will be confronted by the whole American configuration. We have broken the Dakota and American dynamics down for analysis only. Accordingly, we shall proceed with each Dakota dynamic, analytically broken down, and see its behavioral consequence in the Dakota child.

BEHAVIORAL CONSEQUENCES

Physical bravery in work and war: The Sioux child, from listening to his grandparents and his parents describe the proper masculine occupational purpose, identifies, and sees, when a man works and how he works. He works only occasionally and in spurts and he risks his life doing it. The Sioux child is proud of this, but he can identify in fantasy only. Confronted with the American dynamic of the constant, all day long, striving for achievement and success, he withdraws into his fantasy. There is no ecological basis for his self actualization and, forced on the alien American ecological, his motivational and selective perception compels him to filter out only those parts of the American environment which he can incorporate into his fantasy to enhance his ideal self image; hence, his perceptions are narrowed to such areas as athletics, rodeos and mastery of animals. He knows he can outwit a threatening situation by running away from it with honor; consequently, confronted with the unremitting, daily demand of the American eight to five drive, he simply withdraws, both physically and in fantasy. A constant defense mechanism of fantasy identification operates to protect himself, and his reaction to reality is one of withdrawal.

Generosity: within the permissive environment of his home and his relatives, the Dakota child can get anything, another relative has, if they have it to share. He becomes completely dependent because he doesn't have anything. "Being always on the receiving end makes a child egocentric and does not even build a sense of security in him" (Coleman, 63A). Since the surrounding dominant white culture has and he doesn't have, the natural child impulse is to ask. This dynamic is confronted with the American activity and work dynamic for the sake of gain, the "dog eat dog" drive for money, and he is rebuffed and rejected. Someone has something he needs and doesn't share it; he feels rejected and consequently constant feelings of hostility are engendered toward the dominant culture, making for further withdrawal. Added to this, he hears to this day the just complaints of his grandparents and parents that their land was taken away from them and he sees all the more reason for dependence. As Erikson says, he is comparable to a "compensation neurotic." (Erikson, 103) A rare, Sioux college graduate told the wrtier that it wasn't until his junior year in college that he realized the world did not owe him a living. As he grows older, this dynamic will continue to operate and he will depend upon and share with his relatives. As an adult, he cannot say no to relatives when asking for money, even when it means loaning money that should be going to his family and payment of debts. What used to be (before the white) a virtuous dynamic, now becomes, in the alien ecological area, over dependence and prodigality. Furthermore, to the child and adult alike, since you won't give to him you are picking on him, and the seeds of paranoia are planted early.

Good Advice: Although this dynamic does not have the behavioral force in children that it does in adults, the attitude is still incipiently formed in the child from observation that talk without action is enough. On the school level, task orientation is frequently lacking and an observational position in the world is sufficient and not active participation.

Individual autonomy: It is this dynamic in which the Sioux child suffers his severest behavorial consequences. His first awareness is of his own autonomy because he is always asked what he wants to do and makes his own decision. His first awareness of a frustration of this drive is the "wasicu anigni kte." phrase; hence, from his infancy, the only thwarting to this precious dynamic comes from the environment outside the home. This arouses hostility and it will last the rest of his life. "Frustration tends to arouse hostility. When someone blocks our efforts, our first reaction is likely to be one of anger whether we show it overly or not." (Coleman, 170) This hostility will be depressed, but will always be there. This frustration makes for constant blocking. The organism can stand it only so long, then there will be the inevitable acting out, which, as the child grows older, happens more and more frequently. (In South Dakota, although the Dakota's are only a fraction of the state population, 60% of the inmates in the state penitentiary are Indians.) Where drinking occurs, bouts of fighting and killing are common place. This individual autonomy drives the child mostly to self gratification because there are no real objects of identification for self actualization. It results in ego atrophy and further withdrawal.

Confronted with the white American dynamic of freedom for one's own group and racial superiority, this only increases the hostility and frustration. Because of their historical background, the Sioux are the most proud of all the plains Indians. Their fierce pride remains today and they are deeply convinced that they are better than anyone else. (A middle aged Sioux in a mental institution, constantly and loudly insisted that he was not an Indian nor a white person; he was a *Sioux*.) Perceiving the white superiority attitude, they resent it greatly, and this increases the mounting frustration and hostility reflected in the behavior of the children. From childhood, they begin to turn inward, defensive and hostile.

Leisure: Next to the consequences of the clash between individual autonomy and American white drive for gain, the most jarring confrontation of dynamics occurs when the Dakota dynamic of leisure meets with the white American achievement and success drive, coupled with the dynamics of science and secular rationality and the dynamic of progress. The Dakota world view is cyclical. One adjusts to the seasons; when it's hot, one tries to remain cool and fed, etc. The white American dynamic of life is linear progress, looking to the future and improving all the time. The small Sioux child looks only to cyclical adjustment. It is peaceful and as the writer has been told many times, "we don't worry about tomorrow." Confronted with school and its regular hours, this strikes a jarring note in the Sioux child. Fear of the larger hostile white environment compels him to go, but the daily regularity induces a stress in his formerly peaceful adjustment to his cyclical existence. Competition is introduced in school for values in which he is not interested and he withdraws even more. Later in his high school years, he learns from the school the necessity of summer work. This is a dynamic forced upon him, which he rejects frequently and feels guilty because he thinks others think of him as a "bum." He is compelled to withdraw even more and his fantasy identification increases, and self actualization is blocked.

BEHAVIORAL CONSEQUENCES ON CONFRONTATION

DAKOTA DYNAMICS		WHITE-AMERICAN DYNAMICS
Physical bravery in work and war	Fantasy identification Withdrawal Perceptual narrowness Defense orientation Denial of reality	Achievement and success
Generosity	Excessive dependency Egocentric Compensation neurosis Rejection and hostility Frustration Prodigality Paranoia	Activity and work for gain achievement by personal effort
Good advice	No task orientation Passive, not active	Efficient and practicality
Individual autonomy	Frustration Hostility Defensive Acting out	Racial superiority Group superiority Money achievement
Leisure	Stress from unwilling conformity Guilt Fantasy identification No self actualization Ego atrophy	Activity and work for itself Science and secular rationality Progress for itself

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Erik Erikson, speaking of the Sioux, states that he found among them a "cultural pathology . . . for the most part in the form of general apathy and an intangible mass resistance against any further and more final impact of white standards on the Indian conscience." (Erikson, 115)

James Coleman writes: "Although the psychoanalytic concept of stages of libidinal organization is by no means universally accepted, it does serve to emphasize the possible effects of early frustrations on later personality development. In general, all conditions that foster insecurity, self-devaluation, instability, and undesirable value attitudes will predispose the child to the development of later psychopathology." (Coleman 126a) The white child receives his dynamics from his parents and finds in the ecological area means germane to the fulfillment of this dynamics and or self actualization. The Dakota child receives his dynamics from his parents and is thrust into the same ecological area, where, instead of finding means germane to his dynamics, finds everything hostile to thwart them. One of the greatest contributions of psychoanalytic theory is the importance and influence of childhood dynamics. From the first "wacicu anigni kte," the Sioux child begins frustrated and hostile and is crippled psychologically the rest of his life as this frustration receives greater reinforcement at each stage of development.

Saul writes, " . . . . there is probably no impairment, frustration, conflict or friction of any kind which does not result in hostility as a reaction." (Saul, 109)

It is no wonder that Public Health Doctors have stated that the number one health problem among the Dakota's today is that of mental health. Coleman writes: ". . . as these primitive societies are progressively exposed to Western civilization, the rate of mental illness, particularly schizophrenia, increases until such group differences are all but obliterated." (Coeman, 256 A)

We have seen the unhealthy social impasse in which the Dakota child begins and lives his life. From within his home, he receives dynamics. Once he sets foot outside his home, the stronger dynamics of the dominant culture drive him back within himself.

His dynamic of male occupational identification, physical bravery in work and war, confronted with the White-American, sun up to sun down, unrelenting drive toward achievement and success in making more and more money, drives him back into a fantasy identification, makes him withdraw, makes him defense oriented, and, driven to ever narrowing perceptions, leans him toward a denial of reality.

His dynamics of generosity, confronted with the White-American dog eat dog drive toward money, again makes him withdraw into excessive dependency, egocentricism, compensation neurosis, rejection and hostility, frustration, parenoia and prodigality.

His dynamic of good advice, confronted with White-American efficiency and practicality, removes task orientation and makes for a passive and not active participation in reality.

His dynamic of individual autonomy, confronted with the White-American racial and group superiority and money achievement dynamic, frustrates him, makes him hostile and defensive, and since the organism can tolerate stress only so long, leads to inevitable acting out.

His dynamic of leisure and cyclical adjustment, confronted with the competitive, activity and work for itself dynamic, joined with the progress (linear) for itself drives him unwillingly, conforms to the stress of school, but withdraws as soon as possible. Drop out rate is 50% greater than national average. The Indian feels guilty, resorts to fantasy identification, feels no self actualization and suffers ego atrophy.

In the overall picture, regarding healthy task oriented participation, as one end of the continuoum and schizophrenia as the other end, one can see the Dakota child is forced to withdraw more and more and is increasingly pushed to the sinister end. He learns to live with it and function, but more and more in recent years has been pushed beyond the tolerance point.

These behavioral consequences are one of the great American tragedies, because these children are American too. They came by their dynamics sincerely, and have no place to practice them to come to full self fulfillment.

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DROPOUT OF AMERICAN INDIANS AT THE SECONDARY LEVEL

Cooperative Research Project No. S-099

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OGLALA SIOUX MODEL RESERVATION PROGRAM

THE DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL OF THE PINE RIDGE INDIAN RESERVATION

Review Phase
(Task No. 3 Intermediate Report)

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Oglala Sioux Model Reservation Program

The Development Potential of the Pine Ridge
Indian Reservation

EDUCATION

This chapter represen[illegible] a draft
of the Education component of the
Oglala Sioux Model Reservation
Program Report

Marshall Kaplan, Gans, and Kahn

economics
city and regional planning
development
implementation

OGLALA SIOUX MODEL RESERVATION PROGRAM

Education

The school system on the Pine Ridge Reservation has failed to prepare the Oglala Sioux either for life as a middle class American citizen or as an Indian. An alien institution imposed on the reservation population, it is resisted by the children and the parents who have no control over its operation. This resistance is reflected in high dropout rates, low test scores and lack of student participation in the classroom. The traditional methods of teaching, based on the assumption that pupils will compete to please the teacher, are foreign to the Sioux child's upbringing which fosters cooperation and conformity to the values of peers, rather than adults. The omission of Indian heritage and culture from most of the curriculum, and the ignorance of and insensitivity to Sioux traditions and values on the part of many of the teachers makes the teaching irrelevant to the students' lives and deprives them of the knowledge and pride necessary for developing their own identities. The consolidation of schools and the inadequate transportation system have further removed the schools from the community and forced many students, particularly those in high school, to leave their families to obtain an education, thus contributing to the high (60%) dropout rate. The BIA school system also suffers from inadequacies common to many other school systems: inadequate staff, particularly on the high school level, overcrowded facilities and outdated materials.

Recommendations

For any school system to succeed, it must give its students a sense of their own identity and it must work with, rather than against, their value system and culture.

Education at Pine Ridge should become an instrument of the Pine Ridge community and the Oglala Sioux, not an institution imposed from the outside. The most effective means of allowing the Indians the opportunity to shape their own schools is through financial control of the educational system. Tuition checks issued to Oglala Sioux which could only be used by the Oglala Sioux to purchase educational services would be one device by which this could be accomplished. In effect, this system would force all schools on the Reservation to compete for students by tailoring their teaching to Indian needs and desires, and might also encourage experimental private schools to be founded on the Reservation.

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New "free day" teaching methods where children choose among a variety of materials designed to stimulate learning and the teacher acts as helper instead of disciplinarian, lecturer, and examiner, should be substituted for traditional approaches.

Materials and curriculum should give the Oglala Sioux a sense of pride in their own heritage as well as expose them to the common ways of American life. All teachers should be trained in Sioux history and values as well as in new educational techniques. A program of on-going, inservice training for teachers should be implemented which will ensure flexibility of teaching response.

Intensive counseling and special acculturation courses should be provided, particularly in secondary school, to help the Oglala Sioux resolve the conflicts involved in being an Indian in a white man's culture.

Dispersal of physical facilities to permit easier community access to schools, and community identification with the school system and teachers should be undertaken. School facilities might then also function as adult education and community recreation centers. Many of these facilities could take the form of cottage schools, with many grades in one classroom and teachers transported by helicopter or some equally flexible mode of all-weather transportation.

Next Steps

Methods of instituting a tuition grant should be formulated and the community educated in the use of the new system, as well as for participation in school board elections.

To increase the flexibility of its school system and encourage innovation, BIA should investigate the feasibility of turning its schools over to private industry.

The proposal for a demonstration school at Loneman to involve parents in running the school should be implemented.

The "free day" approach should be adopted at one school on a pilot basis.

A materials center with a staff to prepare materials on Sioux culture and history and to develop courses in acculturation should be instituted.

Indian history and culture should replace much of the standard curriculum and acculturation courses offered from the fifth grade on.

Because of the Sioux's intense enjoyment of team sports, these should be emphasized, particularly in high school, as a deterrent to dropping out.

Teachers should be hired to reduce class size in high school and to teach Indian culture, and all teachers should be given some training in Indian traditions and new teaching methods.

A counseling and scholarship program to encourage the Oglala Sioux to teach on the reservation should be instituted.

Cottage schools should be built in outlying districts and a detailed cost-benefit analysis of a completely decentralized plan for school facilities, including the costs of alternative transportation systems, should be undertaken.

The NYC Program, which presently tends to encourage students to drop out of school, should be changed so as to reward students who stay in school and who improve their grades.

EDUCATION

Introduction

In the past, the American public school system has been the traditional institution of cultural assimilation, "Americanizing," through their children, the new immigrant groups flowing into the cities. The Indian experts of the federal government assumed that the federal schools, on- and off-reservation, would perform that same function and prepare the Indian for eventual self-sufficiency. However, unlike the neighborhood school which provided the urban immigrant his assimilative experience, the reservation schools were set up to make white men of Indian children by removing them from their parents' homes and their Indian culture. In some cases, these children were dragged from their homes to be sent to boarding schools, and some died in the alien environment. Following the Meriam Survey of the Indian Service in 1928 and the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, the federal government changed its policy and attempted to fit Indian education to Indian needs. The schools were to give students an appreciation of their own tribal heritage and community organization, to teach the Indian children through participation in school and community government to become constructive citizens, to show them how to work with the natural resources of their reservation to improve their standard of living, to give them the vocational skills needed to earn a living on or off the reservation and to aid them in achieving some mastery over their environment. But, despite this expressed idealism, the adults on the Pine Ridge Reservation are 42 percent unemployed with an average income of only $1,600 per year. Those over 25 have completed a median of 8.8 years of schooling compared to 10.9 for the U.S. white population. Only about 20 percent have completed high school with 4.2 percent attending college and only 1.3 percent graduating. They are entirely dependent on the federal government, and while resenting that dependency, their greatest fear is a withdrawal of federal support. The schools have a drop-out rate 50 percent greater than the national average with most leaving as soon as they legally can, after the eight grade. From the sixth grade on, Indian students fall steadily further behind their white counterparts in standardized achievement tests. There is little emphasis on Indian art or legend in the schools and the American History course is standard for all South Dakota with little special emphasis on Indian contributions or history. Juvenile delinquency is widespread on the Reservation, and feelings of powerlessness and external influence, depression and alienation are felt by Oglala Sioux teenagers far in excess of white children their same age. Thus, despite the expressed ideals of the Federal Indian Service, the Pine Ridge educational system is a failure even by the Service's own standards. While it would be unrealistic and unfair to blame the Indians' lack of achievement on the school system alone, the totality of this failure suggests that it is not probably the result of lack of commitment or efficiency on the part of the BIA staff, some of whom have spent their lives teaching on the Reservation, but more fundamentally of the educational process and system itself.

Problem Description

The importance of the educational system to the future development of the Pine Ridge Reservation and its people is underscored by the fact that over half (54 percent) of the population is 19 years of age or younger. The most recent population estimate indicates there are approximately 4,000 children on the Reservation between the ages of five and nineteen.

There are a number of different school systems on the Pine Ridge Reservation: the federal schools, day schools and on-and off-reservation boarding schools administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs; the Mission schools sponsored by the Catholic Church; the public schools operated by several South Dakota counties; and several Headstart classes sponsored by the Tribal Office of Economic Development.

1. BIA operates six day schools in Oglala, Kyle, Allen, Porcupine, Manderson and Wanblee communities, each of which has kindergarten through eighth grade students; an elementary and secondary school (Oglala Community School) located in Pine Ridge with both day and boarding students; and a number of off-reservation boarding schools.
2. The Catholic mission operates an elementary day school in Porcupine, and an elementary and secondary school with day and boarding students at the Holy Rosary Mission, four miles north of Pine Ridge.
3. Shannon County Independent School District #1 operates three public schools, kindergarten through eighth grade, in Pine Ridge, Batesland, and Rockyford.
4. Bennett County operates public schools, three of which have significant Indian enrollment.

5. Washabaugh County has a public school in Wanblee.
6. The Office of Economic Development of the Oglala Sioux Tribe operates ten Headstart classes in Kyle, Wanblee, Allen, Manderson, Wounded Knee, Pine Ridge (two classes), Red Shirt Table, and Oglala (two classes).

The federal government reimburses county and mission schools for Indian children attending their schools.

Enrollment

Within the federal school system, enrollment in the day schools over the past ten years has increased 37 percent. As the population of the town of Pine Ridge has increased considerably in the same period, it might be expected that OCS enrollment would have increased more than 37 percent, but this is not the case. The OCS increase is only 31 percent over the same period, indicating that the other two systems (public and mission) in Pine Ridge have absorbed much of the increased Pine Ridge population. Table I indicates the enrollment in the various school systems in 1967.

Percentage distribution among the four major on-reservation school systems is as follows: federal -- 64 percent, mission -- 16 percent, public schools -- 15 percent, and Headstart -- five percent.

Students whose families live on or very near the Reservation, but attend off-reservation schools are enrolled as follows: federal boarding schools -- 102, special schools (for the blind, crippled, etc.) -- 17, near-Reservation public schools -- 368, and colleges and universities -- 67.

Table I: On-Reservation Enrollment, by Type and Individual Schools

	Day Students	Boarders	Total
Federal Schools (BIA)			
Allen Day School	121	–	121
Little Wound Day School (Kyle)	255	–	255
Loneman Day School (Oglala)	119	–	119
Manderson Day School	249	–	249
Porcupine Day School	193	–	193
Wanblee Day School	195	–	195
Oglala Community School – Elementary	392	265	637
Oglala Community School – Secondary	201	236	437
Sub-total	1725	481	2206
Headstart Sub-total	179	–	179
Public Schools			
Bennett County:			
Bennett County High School3	12	–	12
Martin Common School District #2	106	–	106
Common School District	24	–	24
Washabaugh County:			
Wanblee Public School	8	–	8
Shannon County:			
Pine Ridge Public School	281	–	281
Rockyford Public School	16	–	16
Batesland Public School	79	–	79
Sub-total	526		526
Mission Schools			
Holy Rosary Mission	250	245	495
Our Lady of Lourides	69	–	69
Sub-total	319	245	564
GRAND TOTAL	2749	726	3475

The following map shows total school-age population distribution by district and the location of on-reservation schools. It should be noted that while the Wakpamni District contains only 38 percent of the school age population, 53 percent of the children enrolled in reservation schools attend school in the Wakpamni District.

Consolidation

In line with the rationale that only larger schools often at some distance from a child's home can provide quality education on an efficient, economic basis, Pine Ridge Reservation has consolidated its schools: In 1947, there were fourteen federal schools with an enrollment of 1,642; today, there are seven federal schools to serve 2,226 students. Present plans within the Reservation's educational community include further consolidation of schools. Such consolidation further separates children from their parents and makes parental and community involvement in school affairs more difficult.

Adult Education

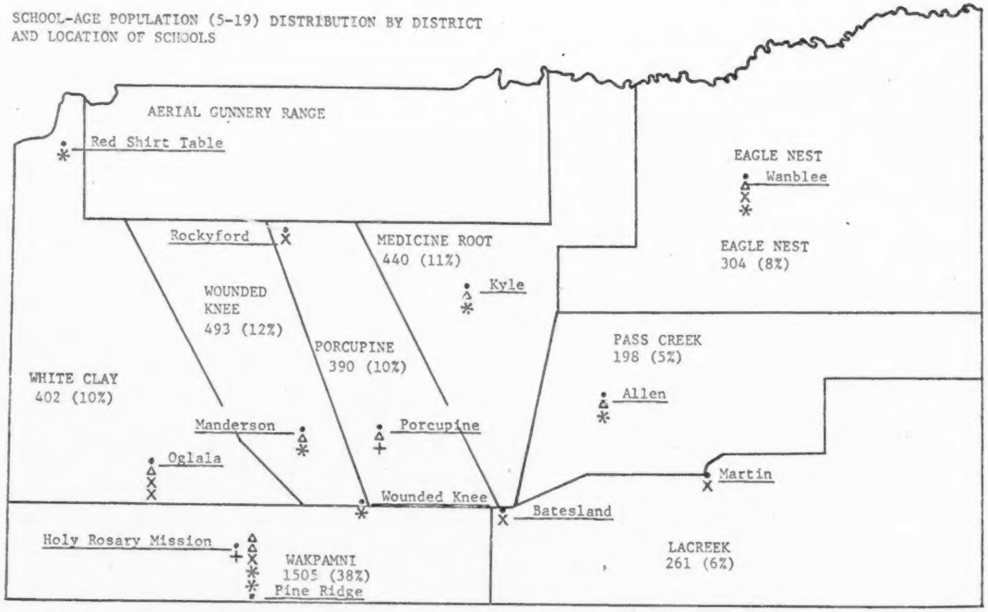
The Oglala Sioux Tribe's Office of Economic Development gives courses in home management, home nursing and first-aid courses. VISTA volunteers and Community Development aides work with adults to help them identify and solve community problems. The BIA Land Operations staff and the Agricultural Extension Service teach farming and ranching techniques. Extension courses by several colleges have also been offered in Pine Ridge.

Student Achievement

Comparisons of the educational attainment of the Oglala Sioux with that of the nation as a whole show that Oglala Sioux students achieve less well

PINE RIDGE INDIAN RESERVATION

SCHOOL-AGE POPULATION (5-19) DISTRIBUTION BY DISTRICT
AND LOCATION OF SCHOOLS


AERIAL GUNNERY RANGE
Red Shirt Table
Rockyford
MEDICINE ROOT
440 (11%)
Kyle
EAGLE NEST
Wanblee
EAGLE NEST
304 (8%)
WOUNDED
KNEE
493 (12%)
PORCUPINE
390 (10%)
PASS CREEK
198 (5%)
Allen
WHITE CLAY
402 (10%)
Manderson
Porcupine
Oglala
Martin
Wounded Knee
Batesland
Holy Rosary Mission
WAKPAMNI
1505 (38%)
Pine Ridge
LACREEK
261 (6%)

LEGEND

∆ BIA School

X Public School

+ Mission School

* Head Start Class

1505 - Number of School-Age Children in District

(38%) - District School-Age Population as Percent of Total School-Age Population than others, that they are older than their grade counterparts elsewhere, and they drop out of school at a higher rate and earlier in high school than other students.

Comparing Reservation student performance on standard achievement tests with the national norms for those tests, Oglala Sioux students fall considerably below the norm in grades 1-3, equal or excel the norm in grades 4-5, and fall below it from the sixth grade on. Table II shows that in 1967, for example, 59 percent of the fourth graders in BIA elementary schools scored above average on the California Achievement Test. In the same year, however, only 30 percent of the eighth graders exceeded the national norm.

Table II: Comparison of Pine Ridge Reservation BIA Elementary School Student CAT Scores (Total Battery) with National Norm, by Grade, 1965, 1966, and 1967

	Percentage of Student Scores in 50th Percentile-and-Above Range		
Grade	1965	1966	1967
Fourth	76%	47%	59%
Fifth	67	53	58
Sixth	33	30	28
Seventh	51	36	45
Eighth	43	34	30

Students do not perform equally well on the three sections of the California Achievement Test -- Reading (vocabulary and comprehension), Arithmetic (reasoning and fundamentals), and Language Arts (mechanics of English and spelling). Table III shows that in the majority of cases, reservation students in the BIA school system do relatively poor on the reading section and relatively well on language arts, as compared to the total battery scores.

Table III: Fourth-Eighth Grade Median CAT Grade Attainment for Sections of Test and Total Battery, 1967

Grade	Actual	Reading	Arithmetic	Language Arts	Total Battery	Yrs Ahead(+) Yrs Behind(-)
Fourth	4.2	4.0	4.3	4.3	4.2	0.0
Fifth	5.2	4.9	5.4	5.4	5.3	+0.1
Sixth	6.2	5.5	5.6	5.7	5.7	-0.5
Seventh	7.2	6.5	5.8	7.3	6.8	-0.4
Eighth	8.2	7.0	7.3	7.6	7.2	-1.0

The fact that children in the 8.2 grade are reading at the level of beginning seventh graders nationally has great significance in terms of their ability to perform well in other subjects.

Tables II and III describe achievement for elementary school students in the BIA Reservation schools. High school student achievement test scores show that students fall further behind the national norms for their grades the further they progress in school Table IV shows that arithemetic replaces reading as the area of greatest deficiency, though reading achievement is still significantly below the national average.

Table IV: Oglala Community School Ninth-Twelfth Grade CAT Grade Attainment for Sections of Test and Total Battery, 1967

Grade	Actual	Reading	Arithmetic	Language Arts	Total Battery	Years Behind
Ninth	9.6	8.4	8.6	9.2	8.7	0.9
Tenth	10.6	9.4	8.6	10.7	9.6	1.0
Eleventh	11.6	8.8	8.6	11.4	9.6	2.0
Twelfth	12.6	11.2	10.4	12.6	11.4	1.2

The fact that Indian achievement on standardized tests falls off after the fourth grade and that the test scores are significantly better in the more mechanical areas of language arts than in reading indicates that the federal schools, while successful in teaching the Indians rote learning, have somewhat less success in giving them an understanding of the fundamental reasoning processes and verbal ability necessary to continuing education. The falling off in math achievement as the curriculum moves from memorization of multiplication tables to a more fundamental understanding of mathematical processes also supports this assessment although some of this decline can be explained by the fact that math is an elective in the upper grades.

Language Deficiency

Studies have also shown that many Indians, particularly those from outlying areas, finish the eighth grade without the fluency in English necessary for high school work, although the language for instruction in all grades of all schools is English, not the Lakota Sioux dialect. Thus, through their school years, children often cannot even understand what the teacher is saying, much less master reading and mathematics. The breakdown in language spoken in the home, according to a recent Public Health Service survey, is as follows: English only, 33.1 percent; mostly English, 9.3 percent; English and Lakota equally, 43.4 percent; mostly Lakota, 9.2 percent; and Lakota only, 4.9 percent. According to these figures over half, 57.5 percent, of the households use the Lakota dialect at home at least some of the time. As fluency and use of English is looked on as a valuable accomplishment on the Pine Ridge Reservation, it would appear that the use of English in the home is overstated in these statistics; too, the mere fact of speaking English does not indicate fluency or an extensive vocabulary. It can be surmised that as many as half the children have a poor comprehension of English when they come to school. Although the school system runs remedial programs including a "make-up" grade to compensate for the language deficiency, these programs are inadequate. Headstart classes, which could be particularly helpful to the children in learning English, reach only one out of four eligible children. Few of the teachers have been instructed in teaching English as a second language, a teaching technique which has been shown to be more effective than the traditional remedial approach. Thus, the children carry this disability with them through the elementary grades into high school where, unable to understand the work and isolated from their fellow students, they drop out.

Drop Outs

Compared to the 23 percent national drop-out rate among rural youth, the drop-out rate among Oglala Sioux is approximately 60 percent. Not only do more Oglala Sioux drop out than others, but they drop out much earlier than do non-Indians. Under state law, they may drop out either at the end of eighth grade or upon reaching age 16, whichever comes first. More non-Indians drop out in the twelfth grade than in the ninth, whereas few Indians drop out in the twelfth grade as compared to the ninth grade. For example, a study made recently of the drop-out population of South Dakota showed that 59 percent of all Indian drop outs occur during the first year of high school, whereas only 20 percent of non-Indian drop outs occur that early. The varying class sizes at Oglala Community High School (OCHS) in March 1967 demonstrate the sharpness of this drop-out rate: ninth grade, 103; tenth grade, 72; eleventh grade, 47; twelfth grade, 37.

Adolescence is a difficult period for all youth, but for the Oglala Sioux, straddling two cultures, adolescence is even more so — the identity crisis is an intense and debilitating experience. This period also coincides with the beginning of high school which for many students means leaving home and going to boarding school. The day school graduate, a neophyte in the boarding situation, is often subject to mistreatment by veteran boarding students. Many leave because they cannot fit in with student groups at the school while others, in order to win the group's acceptance, turn to acts of daring and delinquency; these bring them into conflict with school authorities and may eventually cause their expulsion. Size of class in high school increases dramatically: the average eighth grade classroom size in the day school is seventeen; excluding Loneman, the average eighth grade class size in the other five day schools is thirteen. OCS ninth grade classes are almost three times this number -- thirty-five.

At the same time, classroom facilities are even less adequate then in the day schools where overcrowding averages seven; in high school, the average overcrowding is ten.

The teacher aide, part of whose job is to help bridge the cultural gap, is not included in the high school program. Thus, the cultural shock involved in leaving home and a small rural school for an impersonal boarding school is compounded by a threefold increase in class size and the lack of a cultural intermediary; and this at the very time the student most need help.

in handling his emotional problems. The Indians who leave are as much pushed out by the system as they are drop outs on their own initiative.

Facilities and Transportation

As indicated above, the school facilities are seriously inadequate. Six of the seven BIA elementary day schools on the Reservation are overcrowded. Four of the seven; Loneman, Kyle, Porcupine, and Wanblee; are seriously overcrowded. In each of these schools, each classroom has from five to ten more students in it than the number for which is was designed. The rooms used in some cases were not designed as classrooms; at Loneman, the stage is used as a classroom, in Kyle the dining hall, and in Porcupine the Bureau uses two nearby tribal buildings for makeshift classrooms.

OCS Elementary School has better facilities than the day schools in the districts. Only six of the 21 classes have more students than they should have, and the average overcrowding in these rooms is only three students.

OCS High School classrooms, on the contrary, are seriously overcrowded: of 17 regular classrooms, only one is at capacity, the remainder having from three to 23 more students than they should have. The average overcrowding is ten students. In the federal system alone, the schools are operating 33 percent over capacity.

In addition, the schools are divided into the traditional box-like class spaces which cannot be rearranged, a design which makes the introduction of modern techniques such as team teaching and ungraded classes difficult.

The most serious deficiency in school facilities is found in the OCS dormitories. There is one building for girls of all ages (1-12) with four to fifteen students to a room. The boys dormitory is termed a barracks by local staff with all the boys housed in a few very large rooms. All students sleep in double decker bunks, and there is no special equipment for younger children.

In addition to inadequate facilities at school, Indian children all too often cannot even reach these schools because of impassible roads. Not being able to get to school in bad weather is one of the major problems in education at Pine Ridge -- roads into the more isolated parts of the Reservation are impassible to school buses for too many days during the winter. In 1967, for example, BIA school attendance during one winter month showed that some students did not get to school at all during that month, and others missed as much as three of the four weeks of the study.

Table V: Absence From School Due to Impassible Roads

School	Bus Route	Number of Pupils	Number of School Days Missed by Each
Manderson	#2	38	14
Porcupine	1	5	12
Kyle	1	7	20
Loneman	1	17	14
	2	28	14
	3	8	14
Allen	1	24	14
Wanblee	2	9	17
	3	10	21
OCS	2	7	14

In one four-week period, 2,167 pupil days were missed simply because the children could not get to school.

Thus, students and teachers, while coping with many other problems, must try to work in overcrowded, inflexible and generally inadequate classrooms and endure long absences from school because of impassible roads.

Teaching Staff

Not only are many Indians from the ninth grade on, if not before, thrown into the alien environment of a boarding school, they must also learn and accept direction from teachers who are for the most part non-Indian with no prior experience teaching Indians nor special training for such teaching. At the Oglala Community School (OCS) there are two Oglala Sioux teachers, four Indians from other tribes and 41 non-Indians. In the day schools in the BIA system, there are four Oglala Sioux teachers, four Indians from other tribes and 46 non-Indians. Thus, only six percent of the teaching staff are Oglala Sioux. The BIA requirement that all permanent teachers be college graduates effectively eliminates most Oglala Sioux and other Indians from consideration for teaching positions. (BIA has hired, on a temporary basis, five Title I program teachers without a BA or BS.) According to the latest figure, only 1.3 percent of the adults on the Pine Ridge Reservation have graduated from college. It is clear that the longer an Oglala Sioux student stays in college, the less interest he has in returning to the Reservation.

The inherent difficulties of attracting good teachers, Indian or non-Indian, to the isolation of the Reservation are compounded by noncompetitive salaries and the BIA requirement that they teach year round with only limited educational leave. The salaries are not competitive with those of large cities where most of the teachers versed in the new teaching methods are working, nor even with the South Dakota rural schools. BIA teachers start at $458 a month if they have a Bachelors Degree, but no experience. Shannon County public school teachers start almost 26 percent higher at $578 a month. The same teachers in the San Francisco school system would start at $643 a month. In the school years 1964-65 through 1966-67, nearly half, 51 out of 103, left the BIA school system, many to take other jobs, both teaching and nonteaching off the Reservation. Thus, many teachers do not remain long enough to develop an understanding of Oglala Sioux life and culture.

Teachers are not only underpaid, but overloaded, particularly in high schools where the ninth grade classes contain 35 students. There is only one professional staff counselor in each of the two dormitories at OCS with the other staff subprofessionals recruited from the local population. The staff-student ratio in the dormitories at even peak staff time is approximately 1 to 30 — an inadequate ratio under any circumstances, but particularly inadequate in a boarding school where the staff are surrogate parents.

To make effective teaching even more difficult, most of the non-Oglala Sioux teachers have little familiarity with Oglala Sioux tradition, values, or culture before they arrive on the Reservation. Once there, the school system makes little effort to help them understand the people they are to teach. Although special training courses in teaching reading or working with "disadvantaged" youth in general have been offered to teachers from the public, federal and mission schools, courses in Indian art, history, and culture are not standard for new teachers. Nor do federal schools make any special effort to work with the new teachers as they adjust to teaching in a culture foreign to their own. Thus, most teachers enter the classroom totally out of touch with the lives of their students, and with very little life experience relevant to theirs. With both teachers and students equally handicapped by their ignorance of each other's background, the mutual understanding and respect necessary for classroom learning is very difficult to achieve.

The only program to help teachers work with their students is the introduction of teacher aides into the classrooms of the elementary schools. This program, however, can backfire, with the teacher relying on the aide as a cultural interpreter rather than making the effort to communicate directly with the children. It is also likely that many of those selected are, in effect, white Oglala Sioux out of touch with their own people.

Often, the usual rewards of classroom teaching, that of successful communication reflected in classroom discussion, tests, and end-of-the-year grades, are denied many Reservation teachers who rely mainly on words to teach in a nonverbal culture. Many of the students are underachievers; they often seem not to understand what they are being taught, fail on tests, and shun classroom discussion and recitation. The teachers' exposure to what they interpret as failure by students, not only lowers their morale, but eventually causes them to expect failure. Research has shown that this expectation of failure is an occupational hazard of teachers who work with low socio-economic groups and that such expectation is a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Experiments have demonstrated that if a teacher expects children to do badly, they do, and conversely, if she expects them to do well, they do; in effect, her effort is geared to her own expectations. No attempt is made to work out this problem with the teachers on the Reservation and thus the cycle continues unbroken.

The isolation of the Reservation also makes it difficult for teachers to keep up with new movements in the field of education, just at a time when fundamental theories of learning and the technology of education are undergoing great change, and experimental schools are mushrooming to test new ideas.

Parental Involvement and Community Control

Not only are most teachers and students separated from each other by unfamiliarity with each other's life and culture, but the school system is the arm of an alien authority and removed from parental and community control. The BIA school system was originally conceived as a mechanism to take children away from parental control and influence. Even today, the Bureau continues to use the boarding school as a solution to the problem of what to do with the child who comes from a problem home. Either with or without the parents' agreement, the Tribal Court will send children to boarding schools on the recommendation of BIA or the county social service staffs. Thus, unlike most American public school systems which are designed as instruments of parental and community will, the BIA schools were originally conceived as substitutes for, and rivals to, parental authority and, in some circumstances continue to function as such.

The parents and the Indian community have no institution of control or power over the federal school system. The federal and mission schools which together enroll over 84 percent of the on-reservation school population are financed and governed not by the Oglala Sioux, but by institutions outside the Reservation — the federal government and the Catholic Church. (Holy Rosary Mission does have an advisory school board.) The school administrators are not responsible, nor responsive, to the community through an elected school board, but to bureaucratic superiors off the Reservation. As most parents are poor, they cannot threaten to shut down the school by removing their children and sending them elsewhere. Because the parents have no power to bring about changes, they find little incentive to involve themselves in school activities.

It is a common complaint on the reservation, made by federal and tribal officials, that Oglala Sioux parents do not get involved in the education of their children; they do not come to school, sit in on classes, have conferences with teachers, or attend PTA meetings. However, when given the opportunity to actually influence the education of their children, Indian parents, after an initial period of hesitation and tentative experiment, respond enthusiastically and effectively. The interest of parents in true participation in school policy-making rather than mere pseudo-participation in certain activities has been demonstrated in several schools. The Rough Rock Demonstration School in Arizona, although funded by BIA and OEO, functions under the direction of a locally-elected school board and involves parents in the students' dormitory life. The board has already shown its independence by rejecting the services of a prominent board of advisors because the board felt that the Rough Rock Indians, who know the most about the community, could best resolve the problems of the schools. An experimental program conducted by the Little Wound Day School on the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1936 when the parents were even less educated than they are today involved the parents in school policy and gave them the power of decision in certain areas. Although they were timid about participating at first, they soon became jealous of their authority and reprimanded the staff of the school for suggesting alternatives to a decision they had already made. The Little Wound Day School experiment ended when the Principal who initiated it left.

Both of these experiments indicate that if Indian parents were included in the decision-making process of the educational system on the Reservation, rather than offer empty forms of involvement, they would participate enthusiastically.

Indian parents have also been accused of not understanding the value of education to their children. Although Indian parents do not guide, discipline, and push their children as white parents do, most of them appear to have some understanding of the value of education to their children's future. Many children who drop out in high school return three and four times because one of their parents or some older relative has persuaded them of the importance of education. A survey of the parents of children at OCS in 1952 showed that fully 58 percent of the parents hoped that their children would graduate from college, and an additional 31 percent wanted them to finish high school or vocational school. Only .3 percent said their children could quit any time. However, of the children attending OCS that year, only two percent entered college with .3 percent graduating, while only 12 percent finished high school. Thus, the students' achievement falls far short of their parents' aspirations.

Because few teachers speak Lakota and many Oglala Sioux are not fluent in English, easy communication is often impossible. The language barrier and the distance from school also inhibit parental participation in their children's education. More than half the students attending high school on the Reservation and over 200 elementary students do not live with their parents, but board at the school. Distances from home are too great for the child to commute or for the parent to visit the school very frequently. Since there is no public transportation on the Reservation, it is an expensive trip as well as a long one. The two high schools which most children attend, Oglala Community School and the Holy Rosary Mission School, are located within four miles of each other in the southern-most region of the Reservation. For parents in a community such as Wanblee, a trip to the school means a 180-mile, $18 round trip, an expense out of the question for most Indian parents.

These facts suggest that the seeming lack of parental interest in their childrens' education is a function of the structure of the school system, and not the result of laziness or absence of ambition for their children on the part of the parents.

Curriculum and Materials

Not only are the parents not given an effective opportunity for participation in their children's education, but the curriculum is for the most part irrelevant to their lives and their childrens'. Curricula and materials used in elementary and secondary schools on the Reservation are indistinguishable, with some notable exceptions, from those of most South Dakota schools.

Lakota is not among the non-English languages taught in the school systems. No non-English languages are taught in the elementary schools, and in the BIA high school, only German is offered at the present time (Spanish has been offered in the past). The state merely requires that one foreign language be offered, and it is not clear that Lakota would be disallowed. Pre-Columbian times are generally ignored in the American history textbooks, save for a few lessons about the Incan and Mayan civilizations in Central and South America. Such textbooks imply that Indians living in what is today the United States either did not exist or were not sufficiently important for study prior to the time that Europeans first came in contact with them. Such an approach to history may well make sense from the point of view of the dominant society, but it is a questionable one in a school system serving almost exclusively an Indian population. The subtle psychological effects of such an approach on the student's sense of pride are difficult to measure, but certainly real. It must be pointed out that some teachers of American History try on their own to supplement texts and class discussion with material on Indian history, but at this time, such efforts are on an individual basis and uneven in execution.

History is only one example of how the curriculum and materials used in courses are not altogether appropriate to the student body. Until recently, social studies courses, for example, have not described tribal government and how it differs from other local governments. The Oglala Sioux Constitution and

By-Laws are not studied; practices in Tribal Court are not contrasted with those in nontribal courts. The students are not being adequately prepared for responsible citizenship should they remain on the Reservation. Indian art and legend are also not an integral part of the curriculum.

The drop-out rate also indicates that the Indians find the curriculum, particularly in high school, irrelevant to their future lives. Although OCHS offers vocational courses and has set up an intensive career counseling program, it does not begin until the tenth grade, too late to reach many of the students who have already dropped out, or who, in effect, have been pushed out by the system. The continuing drop-out rate throughout high school indicates that these courses and counseling have little holding power for most Indians.

Underlying Causes

While all these factors -- inappropriate curriculum, overcrowded schools, underpaid teachers, and lack of parental involvement and control -- affect Indian students' achievement, the basic causes of the schools' failure is more fundamental. The schools are the first heralds of an alien culture seeking to impose its will on the Indian child. The child naturally resists and retreats into his own way of life all too often shutting out most of what the school has to teach him. The teaching system and curriculum designed to prepare middle-class Americans for middle-class jobs do not fit Sioux values and expectations.

Basic to the schools' failure is the foreignness of the typical American classroom to the Sioux child's upbringing. Because the child-rearing practices of Oglala Sioux differ markedly from those of middle-class non-Indians, the Oglala Sioux child who comes to school for the first time has a totally different orientation to adults and to his peers from that of non-Indian children. Children in white homes are disciplined primarily by the parents, and children so raised expect adults to behave in authoritarian ways and look to them for approval and disapproval. They are thus quite well prepared for the standard classroom situation where they are expected to sit quietly, listen to what the teacher says, do what she tells them to, and seek the teacher's approval. Their home experience is relevant to, and has been good training for, the traditional classroom which they enter in the first grade.

Most Sioux children do not have this kind of "school readiness" when they enter school. Sioux children have a quite different set of expectations vis-a-vis adults. Adults have been cast primarily in the generous role of provider and rarely in that of disciplinarian. Instead, the child is strongly dependent on, and loyal to, his peers.

Sioux mothers do not toilet-train their children, but leave that function to other slightly older children who persuade, tease and punish the child into acceptable behavior. As they grow up, Sioux children are disciplined by their peers and learn quickly to work for the good of the group rather than seek individual accomplishment or possessions. They are ridiculed if they work to stand out from the group through superior accomplishment and resent being placed in a competitive situation with their classmates. This orientation to the group is in direct conflict to traditional classroom teaching.

When a teacher asks a question of her class, she does so with the expectation that children will compete with each other to please her by being the first to give the right answer. Because there is strong intra-group discipline at work which the teacher does not understand, her expectations are not fulfilled; the class stares at her in silence, and she thinks no one knows the answer. Her whole orientation is to a learner who is eager to please her, and when the response is not what she expects, she decides that the children are not very smart or possibly that they are stubborn and unwilling to try very hard. In either case, her experience in the classroom and those of the students are frustrating.

Neither the teacher nor the student is consciously aware of what is going wrong and both are defeated in a subtle way with each failure to communicate. The teacher is discouraged by her "poor" students and does not enjoy teaching them. The students become increasingly aware of the teacher's disapproval and eventually come to develop feelings of self-doubt. Rather than working with the peer group, the teacher works against it in a continuing attempt to make certain that the children are learning. While at school, the children often wear a mask of passivity only to explode into gaiety and fun as soon as the school is left behind. As the children grow older, the peer group becomes more and more hostile to the teachers and administrators, and more tyrannical toward members who do not fit; many students drop out of boarding school because they cannot find friends and are ridiculed by others. By high school, and boarding school in particular, these groups turn their energies to pranks against school officials and other varieties of "hell-raising" disallowed by the school authorities. Thus, by trying to foster competition which is foreign to Sioux values, rather than developing the Sioux's natural instincts for cooperation and autonomy, the teacher using traditional methods sets the children against her, and remains an outsider and sometimes an enemy.

Traditional classroom methods also have another negative effect on the children. They emphasize individual failure, leaving many children with the feeling that they will always be failures in the larger world beyond their own culture because they failed in their first encounter. Too, because many of the teachers assume that the children are culturally deprived and bring no tradition or knowledge with them to the classroom, they make little attempt to help the children intergrate their Indian heritage with the values and requirements of this larger world. Father Bryde's course for ninth graders at Holy Rosary Mission is a notable exception.

As the Indian student reaches adolescence, the conflict between these values precipitates an individual crisis. The Oglala Sioux feels that he must choose between becoming a white man and a success, or remaining an Indian. His educational experience so far has taught him that his personal culture is incompatible with that of the white man and the white man's institutions. Adolescent Pine Ridge students show greater personality disruption and poorer adjustment than whites their age. Their scores on standard personality tests reflect their feelings of rejection, depression, anxiety and tendencies to withdraw as well as social, self and emotional alienation. School officials remark again and again on students who had just blossomed in the middle years of elementary school only to close up and become passive on entering their teens. The decline in test scores and the high drop-out rate in the ninth grade reflect these problems of personality.

The Coleman Report, published by the U.S. Office of Education, shows that the most important factor in a pupil's achievement is the extent to which he feels in control of his own destiny. Pine Ridge eighth graders scored particularly high on the scale measuring notions of external influence; they sense themselves caught by forces beyond their control and retreat into themselves. They cannot identify with their Indian heritage because the schools, by their omission, have persuaded them that they have no value; nor can they identify with the hostile white world foreign to their way of life, and in their eyes, determined to prove them failures. At this crucial time, when most human beings are struggling to decide who they are, the Indian is left without an identity.

Although these problems of identity are found among almost all Indian adolescents, Indian exposure to non-Indian life and values is not uniform throughout the Pine Ridge population. As the statistics on language indicate, some Indians, usually those who speak only or mostly Lakota and live in outlying areas, have been raised in a totally Indian culture before they come to school, while others have hardly been raised as Indians. Many of these have one non-Indian parent and internalize white values from infancy. Although the educational achievement of the mixed-blood population is significantly higher than that of the full bloods (10.2 years of school as opposed to 8.3), mixed-blood adolescents also face crises of identity born of cultural conflict. Although white values and way of life are not as foreboding to them as they are to most full bloods, mixed-blooded children have also absorbed their parents' anxiety created by their attempt to resolve the contradictions of two cultures; on the one hand, they know that to seek individual achievement creates anxiety, but on the other, not to seek that achievement also creates anxiety. That the suicide rate is higher among mixed-bloods than among full bloods, and that the suicides are typically the acts of adolescents (more than four times the rate for all Americans), suggests that the apparent greater proficiency of mixed-bloods in meeting the success criteria of the white man's schools is only achieved at enormous costs in life and destroyed social balance. Thus, it can be assumed that the quest for cultural identity creates a crisis for Indians of both mixed and full blood and, in turn, affects their educational achievement.

If the school system is to achieve its goals of educating the Indian for self-sufficiency, it must first give him a sense of his own Indian identity and work with, rather than against, the fabric of his value system and personality. Rather than attempting and failing to replace Indian tradition with white, middle-class ways, the school must respect the Indian culture and way of life, and help him integrate these with the requirements of life in mainstream America.

Reinforcing Factors

Although the school system, because of its involvement in the formation of the Sioux child's personality, is perhaps the most influential single institution on the Reservation, the Indians' underachievement in school cannot be isolated from other factors in his environment.

Unemployment and Economic Depression

With 42 percent of the adults unemployed and ADC considered the equivalent of steady employment, the oft-repeated exhortation that a good education means a good job makes little sense to most Oglala Sioux students. There is no stigma attached to being unemployed because there is no work for many. Moreover, it is clear that most jobs depend wholly on BIA and PHS employment.

Not only does the child learn that work is not necessary for survival, but when most others are not working, a job may even be undesirable because it sets the job holder apart from his group. As he grows up, the Oglala Sioux does not often see his friends and relatives using their school achievement and high school diploma to obtain jobs. Most drop out of school and those who succeed rarely remain on the Reservation to motivate others. Far more visible is the Neighborhood Youth Corps, which, after a suitable waiting period, gives jobs to drop outs. The student is also unfamiliar with many vocations. He cannot conceive of the jobs or the life in the off-Reservation world. Thus, until there is a renaissance of the Reservation economy, the schools' emphasis on studying hard to prepare for a job will have little appeal to many Pine Ridge children. At this time, it is not clear to the child from his experience that he will ever work steadily for a living, or even that he ought to do so, and he cannot conceive of what that job or way of life will be.

Poverty

Two-thirds of the households on the Pine Ridge Reservation have an annual income of less than $3,000; half of these earn less than $1,000. The attendant poor housing, deficient diet, insufficient clothing and spending money, as well as the psychological effects on the childrens' aspirations, cannot help but affect school achievement. The home to which the child returns at night is crowded, noisy and full of activity; the student does not have a quiet, well-lit area for study. Because of the particular importance of fitting into the group, the lack of acceptable clothes and adequate spending money is excruciating to the Sioux adolescent, particularly those who come to boarding schools from outlying areas, and many drop out because of it. Studies of Indian college students also show that most leave for financial reasons and that among those who stay, finances often remain a continuing problem.

Transportation

The inadequate transportation system, coupled with poverty, makes it difficult for parents to come to school and take part in their children's education, and at the same time, prevents boarding students from visiting their families on weekends. It also limits field trips for children in outlying areas who most need these enrichment activities.

Emigration

The natural tendency of those who are most successful and most acculturated to leave the Reservation robs the community of its natural leaders. Young Indians resist modelling themselves on the successful white on the Reservation, and few successful Indians remain to serve as motivating examples. The impact of this emigration is felt most immediately in the lack of Indian teachers.

Present Efforts

Parental Involvement and Control

All the school systems serving the Pine Ridge Reservation have set up programs designed to encourage parental involvement in school affairs. All the federal schools have Parent-Teacher Associations or similar organizations; the Mission school has an advisory committee made up of parents and members of the community, while the public schools are directed by county school boards elected by the local communities. However, to date, these organizations have not been effective in stimulating the various school systems to respond to the needs of the children. It is estimated that the federal PTA's reach at most 20 percent of the population and, like PTA's elsewhere, concentrate much of their effort on special school activities, rather than involving themselves in the educational decision-making process. Although some Oglala Sioux are elected to the county school boards, they do not wield sufficient power relative to the whole school board, nor do they wield sufficient power or expertise relative to entrenched school administrators to insure the development of a truly responsive curriculum. They also work within a school system which must serve South Dakota white children as well as Indians. The Advisory Committee to the Mission School is probably the most effective, less because of its organizational form than because of the need of the Mission School to be responsive to Indian desires in its competition with the other systems for pupils and the BIA tuition grants which come with them.

Efforts are currently underway, however, to give the parents an opportunity for effective participation in the decision-making process of the federal schools. In 1967, BIA, VISTA, and the Office of Economic Development of the Oglala Sioux Tribe set up a pilot program to provide training in school programs, policies and problems for the advisory board of one day school with the hope of expanding such programs throughout the system. A tentative proposal has also been drawn up which would make Loneman Day School a demonstration school with its budget, policies and curriculum controlled by a local school board composed of parents and other community leaders. Some members of the community oppose the plan because they fear it would hasten federal withdrawal and no final decision on implementation has been reached.

Teaching Method

BIA has recently experimented with an ungraded system for the first through third grade at OCS Elementary School and is considering expanding it into higher grades. Under such a system, children are grouped according to their level of achievement in a particular subject, with some taking advanced classes in some subjects and remedial ones in others, each according to his individual ability. While a step in the direction of individual programmed study, this experimental system does not alter the traditional classroom methods which are alien to the Oglala Sioux way of life.

The Holy Rosary Mission, however, is experimenting in nontraditional teaching methods at the kindergarten level. Montessori principles provide the basic guidelines for the kindergarten teacher, so that the children work and play in groups, or individually, with very little direction from the teacher and her aide. As the teachers do not function in an authoritarian role, discipline is not as much a problem as in the more usual classroom, where children feel the need to rebel against authority. The peer-group relationship and natural automony of the children are enhanced rather than undermined by this approach.

Curriculum and Materials

The school systems have attempted to make up certain deficiencies in the school year program through special summer programs. Offered by BIA and Shannon County are remedial work for elementary school students, an orientation to Oglala Community School for day school graduates, and remedial and enrichment programs for high school students. In the summer of 1967, the BIA elementary program focused on Oglala Sioux cluture and involved local people. Augustana College of Sioux Falls also offers a summer extension program at Pine Ridge involving remedial education and recreation.

OCS Elementary School has hired several teachers with ESEA funds to work during the school year with students in grades two through seven who have serious reading problems. The "beginning grade" for children with a language deficiency is an ongoing remedial program. ESEA funds have also been used to provide instruments, sheet music, and staff for music and band classes in the elementary grades of all three school systems. The relevance of such an enrichment program to the needs of Indian children is somewhat doubtful.

Plans are underway to change the American history section of the OCS curriculum to include Indian and Oglala Sioux history.

The most innovative program, designed to give ninth graders a sense of their own tradition and values and to help them to understand and resolve their inner conflict, has been designed by Father Bryde of Holy Rosary Mission. The course is set up to provide the student with an awareness of his historical origins and pride in his ancestry; to teach traditional Sioux values, compare these with contemporary non-Indian values and suggest ways of integrating them; and finally, to teach basic psychological principles of how to adjust to and relieve stress and conflict. Initial student reaction to this program has been enthusiastic, although it does appear that the course may suffer for an excessively intellectual orientation which tends to deny real class participation. Father Bryde plans to develop materials and course designs for all levels, from pre-nursery school through high school. Significantly, the Mission schools also depend heavily on lay teachers who frequently reflect an enormous and impressive enthusiasm for teaching and an interest in their pupils.

Teaching Staff

ESEA funds have been used to hire teacher aides from the Oglala Sioux community to assist in the lower grades of all federal elementary schools. Fifteen of these aides work at OCS and 25 are distributed among the six day schools; there is, however, a tendency to under-use teacher aides so that they may serve as almost semi-academic janitors. The aims of this program are to free the teacher to concentrate on teaching rather than discipline, to help teachers bridge the cultural distance between them and the pupils and to involve the families and the community more directly in the schools. While the first objective is probably achieved in most of the schools, the effectiveness of the program in fulfilling the second and third depends on whether the aides selected are real members of the Indian community or merely Indians who happen to be most acceptable to the white school community.

The Shannon County Public School District also has an ESEA-sponsored, in-service training program in teaching reading for all elementary school teachers in the county: public, federal and mission. BIA has used ESEA funds to expand the written resources available to help teachers of disadvantaged youth understand some of the special problems involved in their work. The Western Education Planning Committee of South Dakota, also ESEA-sponsored, has sponsored a variety of training programs, workships, and seminars which have been attended by BIA staff from the Reservation. BIA has obtained ESEA funds to hire three additional teachers in mathematics, science and language arts, to reduce class size in OCS ninth and tenth grades.

Counseling and Mental Health

Although the federal schools offer an intensive program of career counseling from the tenth grade on, this program concentrates mainly on opportunities and training for employment rather than personal counseling. The summer program for day school graduates about to enter the ninth grade is essentially a counseling program to help these children adjust to boarding school. Electives in sociology and psychology are also given. While these programs are a step forward, they do not reach most of the students and do not include personal psychological counseling.

Father Bryde's course for ninth graders at Holy Rosary Mission seems to offer the most innovative and practical means for the school system to help the Oglala Sioux adjust to being an Indian in a predominantly white world.

Facilities and Transportation

Funds have been approved for construction of a new school at Porcupine for 300 students at a cost of $1,140,000 and for rebuilding nine miles of bus routes in fiscal 1968.

Solutions and Goals

Long-Term

The ultimate goal of any program reform must be to create a school system that is the instrument of the Pine Ridge community, not an institution imposed by outsiders for the good of that community; the schools must be rebuilt close to their students and policy control decentralized. Only then will the Oglala Sioux children and parents replace passive resistence with enthusiastic involvement. The curriculum should be designed to give the Oglala Sioux pride in himself and his heritage and to help him integrate his own traditional values with the requirements of modern American life.

Parental Control and Involvement

Only parental control of the school system can finally insure its responsiveness to Indian needs, and only when the parents feel they can control the schools will they cease to regard them as a threat to family ties. The most immediate and, in the long run, the most effective, reform would place the ultimate means of control, the money, directly in the hands of the parents. Under this plan, tuition grants, based on projected per capita operating costs, would be given to the parents of all pupils in a form which could be used only for education. The parents could then use that money to send their children to any accredited school of their own choosing. For the first few years, such a plan would probably constitute a formal ratification of the present system in which the parents have the choice of any of the three school systems and BIA reimburses the public and mission schools. However, in time, such grants would force all school systems to solicit Indian support by changing their curriculum and teaching methods to meet the desires of the parents and children. Eventually, such a plan would create a free market for schooling in which schools would have to be immediately responsive to the wants of the consumers, the parents and students, if they were to survive. The availability of uncommitted money would also encourage those with innovative ideas to set up new private schools which could offer experimental courses and curricula while still conforming to the standards for accreditation. In order to give its system the flexibility needed to compete, BIA could contract for the operation of its schools to private industry.

Although this tuition grant proposal may appear radical, precedents for it can be found both on the Reservation and in national programs. Little administrative change would be required for BIA to give the same amount of tuition grant money (or more to cover the cost of new programs) now given directly to the public and mission schools to the parents of children in all schools. The G.I. Bill supplies another precedent for such an approach. Rather than giving the money directly to existing schools and universities, the federal government give it to the servicemen who could use it to attend any accredited school. The availability of new money in the education market encouraged the founding of new schools, many with limited vocational aims, which were far better suited to the needs of many returning servicemen than the pre-existing academically oriented institutions. Other precedents on the federal level include social security, welfare, and the food stamp program.

The creation of such a free market situation where competition forces the schools to meet the needs of the parents would work far faster to bring about the desired changes than the slow process of involving parents in the institutionalized decision-making process of the school system through elected school boards. Such other approaches would, however, complement the tuition grant system and should be effected concurrently. In fact, all other programs for change offered in this report could be implemented whether or not the tuition grant proposal is adopted, but, if they are truly responsive to Sioux needs, a system of tuition grants should hasten their acceptance.

Every school should have a functioning school board elected by the community. These boards would have the responsibility for general direction of policy and the allocation of funds, powers usually given most American school boards. However, unlike most American school boards which are often out of touch with the community, these boards would be chosen for each school individually by those that live in the community served by the school. Such decentralization would facilitate parental participation and make the members more responsive to community needs and feelings.

Parents and grandparents should be involved also in teaching and curriculum planning. Some could be hired as teacher aides while others might be involved in planning and teaching courses in Indian history, art, and acculturation. A conscious effort should be made to select those who are most familiar with Sioux culture and tradition rather than those who happen to be most acceptable to white school administrators.

Parents should also be involved in the school through an extensive adult education curriculum. In certain subject areas, such as learning English as a second language and vocational training, they might even be in the same classrooms as their children. The schools should also serve as centers of activity and culture for the community. Through these various programs, the parents would come to feel not only that they controlled the educational system, but that they too were participants in the educational process. The schools would no longer separate children from their parents but would, instead, bring them together.

Teaching Method

The traditional classroom approach should be abandoned, and new methods suited to the Sioux's natural tendencies toward cooperation and autonomy instituted in all grades of all schools. Learning should be on an individual basis with the children cooperating to teach others and the teacher acting as an advisor and helper rather than lecturer and disciplinarian.

Such an approach to teaching, variously called the "free day" or "integrated curriculum," has progressed beyond the experimental stage in England where it has already been adopted by nearly 8,000 elementary schools and influenced many others. In these schools, the children are free to choose among a profusion of activities and pursue those which interest them most. A variety of learning materials including art, water, sand and number work are spread out on tables around the room. There is a corner with furniture and dolls for playing house and a library with books of varying difficulty on many subjects. All these materials are designed to stimulate learning on an individual basis. Each child has a vocabulary notebook in which he writes words as he learns them and another notebook for free writing. He learns to read and write by memorizing the look and sound of his spoken words and sentences which the teacher writes in his notebook at his dictation. Often this notebook also becomes the student's first reading book. The children also learn from each other with the nonreaders listening to those who can read and the more proficient helping the less able. Some schools have even included students of all ages in each classroom to take fullest advantage of students teaching each other. The teacher moves around the room answering questions, asking some, helping each child individually and working with groups. Although discipline does not completely disappear as a problem it is markedly decreased in importance, and the teacher spends far less time reprimanding and punishing the children. Although this system seems chaotic in comparison with the traditionally structured classroom, the teachers who use it are enthusiastic and the children not only develop their creative capacities, but later placed in a traditional classroom in later grades, soon equal their peers in the conventional measures of achievement, such as test scores and grades.

Such an approach to education is particularly suited to Oglala Sioux character. The roles and interaction patterns of the teacher, the student, and the student's peers are similar to those of Oglala Sioux adults and their children. The "free day" approach draws strength from the child's peer-group orientation, rather than working against it, and it does not force students to compete with each other. The teacher does not have the authoritarian role she has in the traditional classroom; she is more frequently in a helping capacity than in a directive or disciplinary one, just as the Oglala Sioux parent is primarily in a supporting, generous role, vis-a-vis his child. Thus, in a "free day" school, the Oglala Sioux child would have more, rather than less, "school readiness" than the non-Indian student.

Because the individual student controls his own time and seldom experiences failure, a school system based on the "free day" approach would not set a life pattern of failure and passive resistance to an alien authority for the student. By encouraging him to determine his own interests and control his own activities, it would prepare the student, psychologically as well as academically, to set his own goals and control his own life.

The "free day" approach should also be adapted for secondary school classrooms and adult education although certain changes would have to be made because of the difference in subject matter. Other methods of individualized instruction, such as talking typewriters, teaching machines, and programmed learning materials, should also be introduced into Pine Ridge classrooms.

Curriculum and Materials

To facilitate the transition from home to school and facilitate immediate learning, the materials in the "free day" classroom for the first few grades should be built primarily around the familiar activities of Oglala Sioux life and culture. As the children grow older, materials reflecting life in the rest of America and the world should be gradually introduced; written material should be in both Lakota and English. History materials, particularly in the upper grades, should include not only works on the Oglala Sioux and Indian past, but also books emphasizing the contribution of all ethnic groups to American culture. Acculturation courses, some conducted as group therapy sessions, should be given from the fourth grade on, and materials on these subjects made available to all students. These courses would help the student to find an identity that is both Indian and American by increasing his understanding of his own culture and values and showing him how they can be integrated with the demands of American life. Leadership training courses designed to develop natural leaders who will remain on the Reservation, or return to it, should be offered, and students encouraged to develop their own organizations and governments and choose their own leaders.

Field trips designed to expose the children to the world beyond their immediate lives should be an integral part of the curriculum. In the lower grades, this enrichment program would concentrate first on trips to places of importance in Indian tradition and culture, and gradually expand beyond the Reservation. Provisions should also be made for parents to accompany children on some of these trips so that these new exposures could be a family experience.

Teaching Staff

The teaching staff would not only give courses and supervise "free day" classrooms, but also act as psychiatric counselors for the students, particularly those in the upper grades. The teachers should be predominantly Oglala Sioux with non-Indian teachers chosen from returning Peace Corps volunteers and others with a background in experimental teaching. All teachers would be given training in psychiatric counseling and would meet at least once a week to discuss and work out any problems, emotional or academic, encountered in their teaching. Before they could begin to teach, all teachers, Indian and non-Indian alike, would receive intensive training in Oglala Sioux history, art, values and language. Non-Indian teachers would be paired with Oglala Sioux teachers who would act as their guides and counselors. A continuing program of inservice training covering new methods, technology and materials would also be offered on the Reservation.

In addition, a sabbatical system allowing teachers every third year off with pay to travel, continue their education or devote themselves to particular projects would be instituted for all teachers spending more than three years working on the Reservation. Some teachers might wish to exchange with teachers in other types of school systems to broaden their own experience and put themselves in a better position to counsel those students who are thinking of leaving the Reservation. Many adventurous teachers from other areas, particularly large cities, would welcome the opportunity to teach for a year or two on an Indian Reservation, and their presence and new perspective would serve as a stimulus to the other teachers and the students. Such a program would also facilitate recruiting and would reduce teacher turnover without the resulting inertia of a permanent teaching bureaucracy.

Counseling

The teachers would act as psychiatric counselors, and group therapy discussions would be integrated into the curriculum. Materials and, in some areas, courses in psychology and sociology, as well as such specific subjects as alcoholism and acculturation, would be made available to all students and discussed with the teacher. The courses and group sessions in acculturation, as well as the emphasis on Oglala Sioux history and identity, are also a part of the psychiatric counseling program. Each student would be assigned a counselor who would work with the student and his family through the school years and continue to advise the student after he leaves school for a job on or off the Reservation. These counselors would, in effect, become family case workers, helping the students to resolve personal or or academic problems, encouraging the family to be active in school affairs and adult education, and advising the student on his choice of vocation.

Facilities and Transportation

Cottage schools for all ages would be built throughout the Reservation, and no students would have to board in order to obtain a high school education. All boarding schools would be closed and their facilities converted or sold, and the proceeds used to build other smaller schools. Such a decentralization of school facilities would probably be the natural result of the tuition grant system as parents would naturally choose schools as close to home as possible for their children. Although new facilities will have to be built, most of them will be of simple construction and the proportion of the education dollar spent on the physical plant smaller than in the past.

The transportation system, including air as well as land vehicles, should be flexible enough to serve the various needs of schools throughout the winter--to transport children, adults and teachers to school, to deliver materials, machinery and teachers to schools on a rotating basis, and to take children and adults on field trips.

Five-Year

Parental Control and Involvement

After five years, under the tuition grant system, the Pine Ridge school system should reflect a diversity of choices for Indian parents and students. All BIA schools after five years would probably be run on a contract basis by private industry with decision making decentralized so that the head of each school would be free, within the limitation of accreditation standards, to experiment and compete for students. The personnel in the present BIA schools would not be hired automatically under the new system, but would be given first priority for transfers within the BIA to other federal jobs. Although BIA would guarantee the industry a certain minimum return for the first year, from then on, its survival would depend on its success in pleasing its consumers -- the Oglala Sioux parents. In addition, the mission and public schools would offer additional alternatives to parents who, after a period of initial hesitation, would begin to exercise their free choice.

Each individual school would have a school board made up of elected community representatives which would set broad guidelines for educational policy and allocate funds. Because these boards would be concerned with only one school and the community involved fairly small, at least on the elementary level, the participation and involvement of parents, students, and others would be facilitated. To provide the necessary coordination, particularly in the use of shared materials, among all schools on the Reservation, a district-wide board should also be elected and functioning by the end of this first five year period. Members of these boards should be given training in educational policy and budgeting.

By 1973, parents and other relatives should be extensively involved throughout the school system -- working as teacher aides, and teaching Lakota, Oglala Sioux history, culture and arts and crafts.

Each school, even the smallest in the outlying areas, should include some adult education courses. These should be offered on a rotating basis so that adults in that community would have a wide range of choice over time.

Classroom Method

Because of the freedom to experiment, guaranteed by the tuition grant system, all schools would be experimenting with different approaches to teaching. Most elementary schools would have some version of the "free day" system, while the smaller schools in the outlying areas would probably opt for the vertical pattern, with children of many ages and levels in one classroom. At this time, most of the teachers in the upper grades would still be experimenting with methods of adapting the "free day" approach, with its emphasis on individual learning and development, to their classrooms and subject matter. The precise patterns of instruction in the upper grades cannot be determined now, but should be the subject of continuing research and evaluation, both in the classroom and at a special materials and research center.

Curriculum and Materials

By 1973, a special materials center and library should be in operation on the Reservation. This center would function not only as a distribution point for books and materials to all schools, but also serve as a research center where new materials and new methods relevant to teaching on the Reservation could be developed. The staff of the center would also assist teachers in evaluating the effectiveness of new methods tried out in the classroom.

Materials and books, particularly those dealing with Oglala Sioux history and the problems of acculturation, would be developed at the special materials center, and then distributed on a revolving basis to all schools. Such a system would allow even the smallest schools to benefit from a richness and variety of teaching resources. The center should also gather, develop and distribute information on new teaching methods and other subjects to teachers in all parts of the Reservation. The staff of the center would formulate methods for adapting the new technologies of education to teaching at Pine Ridge; they might, for instance, develop programs for talking typewriters designed to help children who speak Lakota to learn English.

The staff of the center would probably consist of professionals familiar with the technology, techniques and psychology of education, Oglala Sioux, teachers, librarians and clerical staff.

Most of the materials used in the first few grades would be drawn from Oglala Sioux life and culture. Special materials on Oglala Sioux history, traditions, legend, and art would be made available to teachers and students for use in classrooms in the upper grades, and Lakota would be offered as an optional second language for those who wish to improve their skills or who do not speak it at all. Material and courses aimed at helping students integrate their own values and way of life with the requirements and values of modern American life would be offered at all levels, and also included in the adult education curriculum. Leadership training courses and policies facilitating student control over their own organizations should be emphasized on the high school level. In order to include these new elements in the curriculum and still conform to South Dakota requirements, the schools would probably have to be run on nearly a year round basis.

The routine of field trips and other enrichment activities should be firmly established by the end of five years. In the youngest grades, trips to historical sites on or near the reservation would be emphasized; however, by the ninth grade, all students should have had an opportunity to see Rapid City, Minneapolis-St. Paul, or some other large urban center, to visit places of possible employment, as well as to absorb the ordinary sights of a large city. Exchange programs should exist which would allow Indian students to spend two weeks attending school in another school system, while children from that system spend two weeks on the Reservation. Such a program would not only expose the students to life in a large city where they might eventually live, but also give the Oglala Sioux an opportunity to show off their home and way of life to others. Field trips for groups of students interested in college education to look over and interview at various college campuses should be a regular routine.

The vocational education curriculum should by then include school-sponsored trips for students to interview at prospective places of employment. The vocational curriculum should be carefully coordinated with the economic development program for the Reservation so that students who wish to remain on the Reservation would have immediate employment opportunities after graduation, and relevant vocational training while in school.

Pre-school classes, similar to the Headstart program with particular emphasis on language development, should at the end of five years reach all children in the three to four age group.

The adult education curriculum should also be in full operation by 1973 with courses in English and other basic skills, as well as vocational training courses leading to immediate jobs, being offered at all schools at some time during the year. As the tourist industry is likely to be one of the largest employers, training in English and in Sioux culture, tradition, history and handicrafts should be particularly emphasized in the adult education curriculum at this time.

Teaching Staff

The teacher-pupil ratio (not including counselors in the upper grades) should be reduced in both the upper and elementary grades. Because the need to keep track of each child's individual progress under the "free day" system places a heavy load on the teaching staff, each elementary class teacher should be assisted by a teacher aide chosen from the surrounding community. In those schools where children of many ages work in the same classroom, two aides might be required to make certain that the younger children are not overshadowed by the older ones. Aides should also be used in the upper grades for teaching Lakota and Oglala Sioux art and legend, as well as for helping the teachers in other ways.

In order to attract good teachers to the Reservation, salaries for teaching staff should probably be about twenty per cent higher than the average South Dakota scale, with additional inducements such as subsidized housing and the sabbatical system. Exchange programs with big city school districts should also be in operation at this time. Every attempt should be made to train teachers in client-centered therapy and to recruit non-authoritarian teachers. An effective recruiting liaison with the Peace Corps and VISTA, as well as with universities and experimental schools, should be firmly established. The school system might also offer to pay back half of each year's loan installment for each year that a teacher remains on the Reservation.

A counseling and scholarship program for Oglala Sioux who wish to teach on the Reservation should be in full operation, and by 1973, some teachers should already be returning to the Reservation to teach. Under this program, the Tribal Council would lend the student money for tuition and living expenses which the student would pay back after graduation by teaching a certain number of years on the Reservation. If the student did not return, he would be required to repay the loan with interest in ten yearly installments. High school counselors would make a special effort to encourage talented students to take advantage of this program and would continue to advise them throughout their college years. Teaching aides who show promise should also be able to obtain a bachelor's degree through extension courses given on the Reservation or through the mail. Because teaching has been the traditional half-way point between poverty and professionalism for many ethnic groups, the creation of a cadre of teaching families can be expected to have long-term advantages for the Oglala Sioux.

A program of in-service training and counseling for teachers and teacher aides should be established. Indian and non-Indian teachers, newly arrived on the Reservation, would spend their first few months in training before they could begin teaching. Oglala Sioux would give instruction in present-day Reservation culture, Lakota, and the culture and history of the Oglala Sioux; they would also spend some time living with an Oglala Sioux family in the community where they would be teaching. All incoming teachers and aides would receive orientation on the general curriculum and materials, the "free day" approach, teaching English as a second language, and other new educational techniques. Group counseling sessions for all teachers, and on occasion for teacher aides as well, would be held at least once a week, and in-service training in new techniques, materials, and approaches would be offered on a continuing basis.

Counseling

The counseling program should be functioning with elementary classroom teachers acting as counselors in the lower grades, and special personnel hired for that purpose beginning in the fourth grade (one counselor for every twenty-five students). These counselors would be given special training in psychiatric counseling techniques and would take part in group sessions on acculturation, advise the teachers, and help individual students and their families. The counselors would continue to keep in touch with their students once they had left school for employment or college, both to help the students through a difficult adjustment period and to provide a system of feedback to the schools on the effectiveness and appropriateness of their teaching.

Facilities and Transportation

By 1973, there should be no need for students below the tenth grade to board, and even high school students would board at the most only a few days a week. The trend toward consolidation of the schools on the Reservation should be reversed with schools returned to the outlying districts. The variety of activities and courses supposedly made possible only by the economies of scale through consolidation can also be offered in a decentralized system through closed circuit television and a revolving system of teachers and materials. Decentralization of the Pine Ridge schools would not force children into boarding schools, and would also facilitate parental and community involvement in school affairs. By this time, cottage schools close to the students' homes would probably have been built for students of all ages. High school students too would continue with their studies in these cottage schools, taking special courses by closed circuit television and using materials sent on a revolving basis to all high school students; teachers of special subjects could also rotate to the different schools. However, as certain special facilities, such as fully equipped science laboratory, might be available only at the central high school, arrangements should be made for interested students to spend a few days a week there living with a family or with a small group supervised by a teacher or counselor.

Subsidized housing for teachers should be constructed by this time.

By 1973, the transportation system should be flexible enough to adapt itself to the variety of transportation needs of the school system and the Reservation as a whole throughout the winter. It will be needed to take teachers to outlying elementary schools as well as to transport students and parents to schools and field trips. Because of the difficulty and expense involved in maintaining a functioning road system in the face of the heavy snows, helicopters of varying sizes and overland vehicles capable of traveling over snow will probably provide the most feasible and economical means of transportation for the Reservation.

One-Year

Parental Involvement and Control

The tuition grant system could be instituted immediately with all parents informed of the new procedures through small community meetings where they would feel free to ask questions. The parents would, of necessity, be required to give the various school systems adequate notice of their intentions. As parents already have a choice among the three school systems, the tuition grants would probably not have much effect on school attendance until the schools began to change their program to compete for the parents' and students' allegiance. If needed improvements are to be made, the grants would probably have to be raised as much as 20 percent over current per capita costs.

The proposal for the Loneman Demonstration School, using BIA and OEO funds, should be implemented immediately. This proposal calls for involving the parents and the adults of the community in the running of the school through an elected school board, and use of the school as a meeting place and cultural center to preserve Indian traditions. Facilities at other schools should be made available as centers for community and cultural activities. Education for participation in future school board elections should be begun throughout the community. Arrangements should be made during this first year for the parents of boarding school students to spend some time at the schools, some as teachers in Oglala Sioux culture, and for the students to return home on weekends.

Teaching Method

One school would be chosen to pioneer in the "free day" approach for the elementary grades with as many teachers as possible already experienced in this approach brought in to teach there and train other teachers.

Curriculum and Materials

The special materials center should be set up immediately in temporary quarters to begin preparing information on Indian culture and history, and to develop courses in acculturation for all grades. At the same time, bids for building the center should be invited and recruiting of professionals in the new educational techniques and technology, and in the psychology of acculturation, begun.

Indian history and culture should be emphasized and should replace much of the standard curriculum. Acculturation courses similar to those now given ninth graders at Holy Rosary Mission should be given from the fifth grade on. As many field trips as possible within the existing transportation system should be organized. Some adult education courses, particularly in language training, should be offered at the schools, and adults encouraged to participate in certain classes with their children.

From the fifth grade on, intramural sports teams including all students and not just varsity caliber players should be formed and competitive events arranged. Because of the young Oglala Sioux's intense enjoyment of team sports, these teams would increase his identification with the school and discourage him from dropping out.

Teaching Staff

Because private industry will be taking over the BIA school system in the next few years, few additional teachers should be hired at this time. A number would be hired, on a temporary basis, to reduce class size in the early high school years, to teach English as a second language, and to teach Indian art, history, culture and language. Teacher aides from the community should also be hired for one year to assist elementary school teachers. All teachers should immediately begin training in Indian culture, including ways of developing their own materials, and those who will be teaching in the demonstration schools should receive instruction in the "free day" approach and in the teaching of English as a second language.

The counseling and scholarship program to encourage Oglala Sioux to teach on the Reservation should begin immediately and involve both high school students and those Oglala Sioux already in college. As more Oglala Sioux have attended college than graduated, there are many who already have some credits toward a degree; some of these would probably be willing to finish their course work through extension courses so they could become teachers.

Facilities and Transportation

Small elementary cottage schools should be built in outlying districts where the children must now attend boarding schools. As these schools need only a few rooms, they could be quickly constructed from prefabricated materials for low cost. Existing structures might also be renovated for this purpose.

A detailed cost-benefit analysis of a completely decentralized plan for school facilities, which includes the cost of transportation, should be undertaken. The cost of constructing cottage schools ($30,000 - $40,000) is small in comparison to the cost for a larger consolidated school, such as the new school to be built at Porcupine for $1,140,000. This school will provide educational facilities for 300 pupils. By comparison, fifteen scattered cottage schools with live-in facilities for a teacher-aide couple, each cottage school to provide an enrollment for only twenty pupils, would cost a total of only $600,000, or approximately one-half that for the new Porcupine school. Although it is now the purpose to extend boarding facilities, such cottage schools--close to the homes of the pupils--could provide overnight facilities with the teacher-aide couples for pupils whose parents are temporarily ill or away. Such a system may clearly have economic as well as educational benefits.

A cost-benefit analysis comparing all possible types of transportation systems for the Reservation and the school system should also be made. In this first year, several helicopters should be acquired to transport teachers to these outlying cottage elementary schools. The rationale for such an approach to teacher transportation is that it is probably less expensive and clearly more reliable -- considering the general inclemency of the weather and frequent impassibility of roads -- to transport relatively few teachers than to transport large numbers of pupils. Moreover, these helicopters can also be used as police "cars," PHS ambulances and medical team "buses," as well as for numerous other uses. At the same time, geographical proximity to pupils and parents would tend to insure that each Oglala Sioux community will view the cottage school which serves them as their own, and that the cottage schools will be woven into the fabric and be responsive to the needs of the Oglala Sioux.

Oglala Sioux Model Reservation Program

The Development Potential of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation

HEALTH

This chapter represents a draft
of the Health component of the
Oglala Sioux Model Reservation
Program Report

OGLALA SIOUX MODEL RESERVATION PROGRAM

THE DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL OF THE PINE RIDGE INDIAN RESERVATION

Review Phase
(Task No. 3 Intermediate Report)

July 16, 1968

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economics
city and regional planning
development
implementation

OGLALA SIOUX MODEL RESERVATION PROGRAM

Health

The Oglala Sioux, and American Indians generally, suffer health problems today which diverge critically from national norms in both kind and severity. Incidence of morbidity and mortality are higher and life expectancy is significantly shorter for the American Indian than that for the nation as a whole. Communicable diseases claim disproportionate numbers of lives. Moreover, the incidence of deaths which can be attributed to social disorganization and mental illness, including death due to accidents, homicide, suicide and cirrhosis of the liver, account for one-fourth of all Reservation deaths today.

The underlying causes of these health conditions and factors which reinforce them are complex and interrelated. Poverty and ignorance are major contributing factors on the Reservation. For example, high rates of communicable diseases, including digestive and parasitic diseases, respiratory and eye and ear infections can be traced directly to inadequate water, waste disposal, housing and personal hygiene. Thus, generally poor sanitation, crowding, and lack of knowledge of preventive health care practice are major contributors to serious health problems. Other contributing factors can be found in the nature of health services and the relationship of the Oglala Sioux to the Health Program. Health services are centralized and understaffed. Transportation on the Reservation is inadequate with the result that health care is inaccessible to many Oglala Sioux, and conversely, many Oglala Sioux are inaccessible to the health service. In addition, preventive health care programming has had only a minimal effect, and mental health programs have only recently been added to the catalog of health services.

In face of paramount problems of health on the Reservation, major efforts have been directed toward improving services, extending field programs, improving sanitation through construction of water and disposal facilities and general expansion of hospital and central facility care. In spite of this effort, and in spite of the fact that the per capita expenditure for health services on the Reservation exceeds the national average, the incidence of disease on the Reservation continues to exceed the national average in every category except those of old age.

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Recommendations

Vigorous elimination of the antecedent environmental conditions leading to disease, such as poor housing, inadequate sanitation facilities, and lack of safe water supply should be of utmost priority.

In general, health services need to be made more accessible to the Reservation population. The basic health service strategy should be one of maximum practicable dispersal of medical facilities and services.

A preventive health program must be developed for the Pine Ridge Reservation which will be effective. In large part, the effectiveness of this program will be tied to the rate at which dispersal of facilities can be accomplished.

A broadly based, and adequately funded program of community relations based upon a deeper cross-cultural understanding should be instituted to facilitate community identification with the Public Health Service program.

The Reservation mental health and alcohol control programs should be greatly expanded and funded at a level commensurate with the severity of the problems.

Next Steps

Alternative funding sources for expedited development of basic sanitation and related community facilities should be immediately explored and applications for funds submitted. This program should be carefully coordinated with an expanded low-income housing program.

Emergency shelters and diagnostic clinics should be established in outlying communities staffed with a registered nurse and nonprofessional aid. Doctors should maintain regular hours at these clinics, but be available, as well, for emergencies.

Regular ambulance service should be instituted and include helicopter service for emergency transportation of patients and medical personnel. Professional medical care should never be more than a few minutes away.

Indigenous aides should be hired by the Public Health Service to facilitate community identification with the Public Health Service program.

A multiphasic examination should be administered to every Reservation Oglala Sioux to obtain baseline data on health problems on the Reservation and to develop a medical profile on everyone on the Reservation.

Sale of alcohol on the Reservation should become a Tribal enterprise in order to facilitate alcohol control programs and to reduce off-reservation arrests and accidents.

The Pine Ridge Hospital should be expanded to include an additional operating room, recovery room, intensive care unit, psychiatric unit, a chronic or extended care unit and additional surgical beds. In addition, overnight facilities should be provided for those who must come greater distances and for those wishing to visit relatives in the hospital.

HEALTH

Introduction

Generally, health services on the Pine Ridge Reservation are insufficient and inaccessible to a substantial portion of the client population. Present health efforts represent a significant improvement over the past in providing life-saving and health giving care; and recent programming in mental health services, particularly, indicates a growing awareness of the scope of needed services. In spite of these efforts, however, and they have not been inconsiderable, the incidence of disease and mortality still far exceed the national average in every major health category. In addition, existing health facilities are concentrated in Pine Ridge and out-reach programs are too few and inadequately staffed to effectively reach outlying communities. The present approach, due in part to limitations imposed by fiscal restraints, remains crisis-oriented, as distinct from preventive-health-care-oriented, and fundamental change in the environmental conditions which lead to illness has barely begun.

A common theme throughout this report is the psychological climate in which public programs operate on the Reservation -- whether they be education, law enforcement, job development, or health care. Whether the result of psychological sets or attitudes held by Oglala Sioux as individuals, by the Oglala Sioux as a community, by federal staff on the Reservation, or by the external, white culture which broadly determines governmental policy with respect to the American Indian, this climate works at cross-purposes with program efforts, and is often conducive to their failure. In many respects, this psychological climate is itself a health problem -- particularly when expressed in terms of the rate of acute alcoholism, the incidence of crime and delinquency and other forms of anti-social conduct, persistent educational underachievement, and the claim to perpetual dependency on the government as a matter of right. It should, therefore, be borne in mind that while health problems are traditionally viewed in terms of physical and mental diseases, medical services, and medical facilities, a major health problem on the Pine Ridge Reservation is the psychological climate of despondency and conflict which accompanies being an Indian in a white man's culture. In this environment, there is little incentive for the individual to be concerned with preventive health practices or even corrective medical attention.

Problem Description

Despite the availability of free, comprehensive medical care, physical ill-health represents a serious problem on the Pine Ridge Reservation and other Indian reservations; statistics indicate that the health of Indians today is equal only to that of the general population of at least a generation ago.

In 1967, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the South Dakota State Department of Health combined to spend $1,771,878 on the Pine Ridge

Reservation. This total reflects an expenditure of $183 per capita. By comparison, the State of South Dakota spent only $13 per capita in providing publicly-financed medical care to its residents, and the United States spent $28 per capita on all Americans. Since most expenditures on health in the United States are not financed publicly, but are financed privately, data on the cost of providing public health care on the Reservation (which is only marginally supplemented by the private purchase of health services) and data on the cost of providing private health care off the Reservation (which is only marginally supplemented by the public provision of health services) is not readily comparable. However, the fact that nationally, approximately $174 per capita, or close to the total public expenditure per capita on the Reservation, is presently being spent, both publicly and privately to provide health care -- exclusive of plant construction or improvement -- suggests at least that medical services on the Reservation do not fall categorically below the level generally applicable to the public at large. Yet, a tremendous discrepancy exists between the level of health among Oglala Sioux and Indians generally, and the level of health enjoyed by the average American citizen.

For instance, figures on causes of death and age-at-death on reservations show a markedly different pattern than those for the nation as a whole. The average age-at-death among Indians in

24 states in 1964 was 43.8 years as against a comparable figure for the nation as a whole of 63.6 years. This 20-year discrepancy is only partially explained by a very high infant mortality rate. Thus, there are 43.1 live births per 1,000 population on Indian reservations (as against 21.0 for all races). The infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births on reservations is 35.9 (as against 24.8 deaths per 1,000 live births in the country as a whole), with death occuring most frequently during the post neonatal period (28 days to 11 months), at a rate three times that for all Americans. Significantly, the average age-at-death for Indians who survive their first birthday, 53.2 years, is still 15 years lower than the 67.3 years average for all races.

While 60 percent of all deaths in the United States occur in the 65-and-over bracket, only 32 percent of all Indians are over 65 when they die. Relatively speaking, only half as many Indians die of old age and its complications as do people of all races in the nation. This earlier age of death is reflected, of course, in causes of death. Diseases of the heart, malignant neoplasms, vascular lesions of the central nervous system, cirrhosis of the liver, and other causes associated with advancing age accounted for 72 percent of deaths in the country as a whole in 1964, but only 35 percent of Indian deaths.

TABLE I: Percentage of Deaths by Leading Specified Causes, Indians and All Races, U.S., 1964

Cause	All Races	Indian
Diseases of Heart	38.9%	15.9%
Malignant Neoplasms	16.1	8.1
Vascular Lesions (CNS)	11.0	6.4
Accidents	5.8	18.8
Certain Diseases of Infancy	3.4	7.0
Influenza and Pneumonia	3.3	7.0
Diabetes	1.3	2.2
Cirrhosis of the Liver	1.3	3.1
Tuberculosis	0.5	2.5
Other	18.4	29.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%

Communicable diseases claim a disproportionate number of lives on reservations. Table II, which compares crude death rates among Indians in 24 states with those of all races, illustrates the major discrepancy between Indians and non-Indian mortality rates. In every category of communicable disease, the Indian death rate far exceeds that of all other races. In fact, with the exception of those degenerative, chronic conditions associated with "old age," Indian mortality rates in every leading, specified cause category exceed those of all other races, some by as much as five times.

TABLE II: Crude Death Rates Among Indians in 25 States and All Races - 1964 (Rates per 100,000 population)

Cause	Indians	All Races	Ratio of Incidences-- Indian to all Races
Accidents	163.6	54.3	3.01
Diseases of Heart	138.5	365.8	.38
Malignant Neoplasms	70.6	151.3	.47
Influenza and Pneumonia (excl. newborn)	60.9	31.1	1.96
Certain Diseases of Infancy	60.9	31.5	1.93
Vascular Lesions of Central Nervous System	55.5	103.6	.54
Cirrhosis of Liver	26.7	12.1	2.21
Gastritis, Duodenitis, Enteritis, Colitis (excl. newborn)	19.3	4.3	4.49
Tuberculosis, all forms	21.3	4.3	4.95
Congential Malformations	16.1	10.6	1.52
Diabetes Mellitus	19.5	16.9	1.15
Homicide	15.9	5.1	3.12

Comparable figures for the Pine Ridge Reservation are not available. However, an indication of how Pine Ridge Reservation data might compare is given by Table III which compares South Dakota Indians, 43 percent of whom live on the Pine Ridge Reservation, with Indians in 24 states for an earlier period, 1959-1961. In every major category for which comparative data is available, South Dakota Indians fare worse than Indians elsewhere. It is also noteworthy that, even as compared to other Indians, the rate of death due to accidents of all kinds is higher in South Dakota. Motor vehicle accidents alone are second only to diseases of the heart as the leading cause of death. If accidents of all kinds are combined, they become the leading cause of death. Influenza and pneumonia follow a close third to accidents and heart disease.

TABLE III: Death Rates Among Indians in 24 States and South Dakota Indians, 1959-1961 (Rates per 100,000 pop.)

Cause	Indians in 24 States	Indians in South Dakota
Accidents	155.8	224.5
Motor Vehicle	79.0	140.6
Other	76.8	83.9
Diseases of the Heart	141.6	191.0
Influenza and Pneumonia	76.6	138.1
Malignant Neoplasms	69.8	113.5
Vacular Lesions (CNS)	50.1	64.5
Gastritis, Duodenitis, and Enteritis	26.5	38.7
Tuberculosis	25.1	46.5

Trends in mortality rates over the ten-year period between 1954 and 1964 indicate that some impact has been made in dealing with these illnesses on the Reservation. Sharp reductions in death due to tuberculosis and gastroenteric illnesses are reflected in Table IV, as are less dramatic, but significant reductions in deaths due to influenza and pneumonia, certain diseases of early infancy, and other infective and parasitic diseases. In the same time span, two of the three diseases most closely associated with advancing age -- diseases of the heart and vascular lesions of the central nervous system -- have risen, indicating perhaps that a higher proportion of the population is living longer. In fact, the average age at death increased six years between 1958 and 1966. What should be noted in this regard, however, is that the ratio of mortality rates among Indians to national mortality rates have remained essentially the same. Thus, the tubercular mortality rates, for instance, both nationally and among Indians, dropped by approximately the same percentage, 61 and 55 percent respectively. However, the Indian mortality rate remained at approximately the same ratio to the national mortality rate, or roughly five times the national rate. This suggests that treatment techniques have substantially improved in the decade between 1954 and 1964, and that Oglala Sioux have merely benefited in the same ratio as have all Americans.

TABLE IV: Death Rates by Leading Cause Among Reservation Indians, 1954 and 1964. (Rates are per 100,000 population)

Cause of Death	1954	1964	Change(%)
Heart Disease	144.7	159.5	+ 10.1%
Accidents	213.1	228.3	+ 4.6
Motor Vehicle	142.8	155.9	+ 9.2
Other Vehicle	70.3	72.4	+ 2.9
Influenza and Pneumonia	91.4	84.0	- 8.2
Diseases of Early Infancy	69.6	64.4	- 7.6
Malignant Neoplasms	65.4	65.0	- .6
Gastritis, enteritis, etc.	56.0	22.3	- 60.2
Tuberculosis	53.8	24.0	- 55.4
Vascular Lesions, CNS	47.3	54.9	+ 15.9
Other infective and parasitic diseases (excl. TB)	28.4	25.5	- 10.2
Congenital Malformations	17.2	18.1	+ 5.2
Homicide	13.1	16.6	+ 26.8
Diabetes	12.6	24.2	+ 92.0
Cirrhosis of the Liver	11.6	28.8	+148.2
Suicide	9.5	13.0	+ 36.8

Morbidity rates illustrate essentially the same phenomena. Exceptionally high incidence of influenza, pneumonia and other respiratory diseases, amoebic and bacillary dysentery, gastroenteritis, streptococcal infections, whooping cough, mumps and measles characterize most reservations. Morbidity rates attributable to tuberculosis, for example, remain approximately seven times that among all Americans, again in spite of the fact that rates for both Indians and all Americans alike have declined dramatically and in approximately equal proportion.

Otitis media (infection of the middle ear) is a leading cause of illness among Indians. Thirty years ago, it was a common problem among children of all races. Today, it has virtually disappeared as a problem except on reservations. Otitis media can cause serious defects in hearing if not treated promptly. The implications of this on balance and the general ability to perform even simple work tasks is obvious. Chronic forms of otitis media are disappearing with improved treatment methods. However, the incidence of non-chronic forms is increasing. Table V shows the incidence rates of certain specified diseases among reservation populations.

TABLE V: Incidence Rates for Specific Diseases Among Reservation Indians, 1965 (Rates are per 100,000 population)

Disease	Reservation Indians	U. S. All Races	Ratio of Incidences--Indian to all Races
Otitis Media	6,719.4	NA	--
Gastroenteritis (Inflammation of stomach and intestines)	6,078.8	NA	--
Pneumonia (excl. newborn)	4,023.1	NA	--
Strep. sore throat, etc.	2,189.1	203.9	10.74
Trachoma	1,478.4	NA	--
Influenza	1,103.1	NA	--
Gonorrhea	768.1	167.7	4.58
Measles	761.3	135.1	5.64
Chickenpox	553.7	127.6	4.34
Dysentery (Bacillary)	365.9	5.7	64.19
Mumps	291.6	108.7	2.68
Tuberculosis, new active cases	175.9	25.3	6.95
Hepatitis	139.1	17.5	7.95
Syphilis	113.4	58.2	1.95
Salmonellosis	35.3	8.9	3.97
Rheumatic fever	23.8	2.6	9.15
Whooping cough	17.8	3.5	5.08
Meningococcal infections	15.0	1.6	9.38

The extremely high incidence of digestive and parasitic diseases, respiratory and other communicable infections can be traced directly to inadequate water, waste disposal, housing and personal hygiene. Of all Public Health Service Indian hospital discharges in the country in 1964, 32 percent involved patients with the above diagnosed illnesses. The rate for Indian discharges from contract care hospitals was 38 percent. Especially noteworthy is that trachoma, a communicable eye infection which can lead to blindness if not treated promptly, is today even more rare among the general public than otitis media, and yet is the fifth leading cause of illness on reservations.

In general, morbidity on reservations is increasing even though mortality associated with morbidity is decreasing. In large part, this is due to the fact that more people are now seeking medical care than before on reservations, reporting methods have been improved, and medical treatment is more effective, resulting in fewer deaths. Table VI compares the incidence of the ten leading diseases among reservation Indians in 1962 and 1965.

TABLE VI: Incidence of Ten Leading Diseases Among Reservation Indians, 1962 and 1965 (Rates on per 100,000 population)

Disease	1962	1965	Change(%)
Otitis Media	4,007.4	6,719.4	+67.8%
Gastroenteritis	4,987.7	6,078.8	+20.5
Pneumonia (excl. newborn)	3,107.1	4,023.1	+29.1
Strep. sore throat, etc.	1,185.4	2,189.1	+84.9
Trachoma	1,059.9	1,478.4	+39.2
Influenza	1,143.4	1,103.1	- 3.7
Gonorrhea	797.1	768.1	- 3.6
Measels	1,418.1	761.3	-46.4
Dysentry, all forms	705.8	567.3	-19.6
Chickenpox	458.3	553.7	+20.8

Thus, not withstanding a per capita expenditure for health care which exceeds the national rate, the incidence of morbidity and mortality on the Pine Ridge Reservation remains far in excess of the national norm, and most probably of other Indians as well. While medical care offered at the Pine Ridge Reservation is on a par, qualitatively, with that offered elsewhere in the country, its effect on over-all Reservation health statistics has been only nominal in terms of the scope of the problem. This suggests two points. First, a substantial portion of the client population is simply not being reached. Second, the present program has failed to substantially affect the level of preventive health care practices among the Reservation population.

In this respect, the data is convincing. While the post neonatal infant rate, as noted earlier, is three times that for all Americans, the neonatal (under 28 days) infant mortality rate is approximately the same as that for all Americans. This would suggest that care received in the medical facilities where most births now occur is substantially the same as that received by most Americans, but that the private, nonprofessional care required to return the patient to his home and family is grossly inadequate.

Data on morbidity attributable to amoebic and bacillary dysentery even more clearly illustrates the point that expenditures for health care on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation still sorely fail to generate conditions which meet the most rudimentary standards of health care for all Americans. Thus, the incidence of dysentery can be taken as an index of the effectiveness of family-oriented health care inasmuch as dysentery prevention may be more a matter of family rather than professional medical care. In 1964, the incidence of dysentery among American Indians was approximately 49 times that among all Americans. During the previous decade, the Indian dysentery morbidity rate had remained substantially constant, as had the dysentery morbidity rate for all Americans.

Likewise, the incidence of dental disease is illustrative of the failure to effectively reach the Reservation population. Peridontal disease and dental caries are universal among the Oglala Sioux. Limited beneficiary knowledge of oral hygiene practices, diet selection, and limited early treatment of dental conditions contribute to the frequency and severity of dental infection. At the present time, less than one-half of the children on the Reservation are receiving all the essential dental care that they need, including those dental services received through the schools, and only one adult in 25, or four percent, receive all the care that they need. While approximately one-third of the Reservation population is being reached by available resources, it is estimated that only ten percent of the total dental health need is actually being met.

A final point remains especially noteworthy in connection with Indian mortality rates. As of 1964, death rates, which may be attributed to social disorganization, had increased 25.5 percent over the last decade. Thus, deaths due to accidents (163.6/100,000), cirrhosis of the liver (26.7/100,000), homicide (15.9/100,000), and suicide (16.0/100,000) now account for a total of 222.2 deaths per 100,000 population, or 25.6 percent of all deaths. By comparison, deaths due to these four causes nationally now account for only 81.8 deaths per 100,000 population, or only 11.4 percent of all deaths.

In 1954 (14 years ago), the combined Indian mortality rate due to these four causes was 177.0 per 100,000 population. Accordingly, as improvements in traditional health care are effected among the American Indians, causes of death as indices of social disorganization take an increasing toll of Indian lives. Among some Indian age groups, deaths attributed to any of the four major leading causes of death having significance in terms of social disorganization may exceed nine times that among all Americans of similar ages. Thus, the mortality rate attributed to accidents among Indian adults in the 25 to 44 age group is fully 5.2 times as great as among all Americans in the same age group, and the death rate attributed to cirrhosis of the liver among Indian adults in this same age group is fully 9.2 times that among all Americans in the same age group. In the 15- to 19-year-old age group, suicide is not only the second leading cause of death among Indian youths, but it also occurs at a rate fully 4.1 times as great as among all Americans. Among American Indians in the 20- to 24-year-old age group, homicide is the second leading cause of death, and occurs at a rate fully 4.3 times as great as among all Americans in the same age group; among American Indians in this age group, suicide is the third leading cause of death.

There are other indices which suggest the severity of the mental health problem on the Reservation. For example, alcoholism and problem drinking are very common. In 1967, there were over 3,000 arrests alone, out of a population of slightly under 10,000, for alcohol related offenses, including 400 who were arrested three or more times. Since only the worst offenders are picked up, this figure only partially reflects the problem. Moreover, it does not include off-reservation arrests of which there are a substantial number, particularly in view of the fact that the Reservation is "dry." The mental health program staff indicates that one-fourth of their patients come to them because of alcohol abuse, either their own or that of someone in the patient's family.

In addition, 3.1 percent of all Indians die of cirrhosis of the liver -- an illness generally associated with heavy drinking. Three times the national rate, this figure is especially noteworthy considering that cirrhosis of the liver is a degenerative disease, more likely to occur in older populations, and the Pine Ridge population is considerably younger than that of the United States as a whole. It has been estimated by Reservation personnel that of approximately $150,000 earned by Oglala Sioux in fire-fighting in Idaho during the summer of 1967, $75,000-$85,000 was spent in bars and packaged liquor stores in White Clay, Nebraska. It is also understood that annual lease money not infrequently disappears in one extended binge.

The pervasiveness of heavy drinking on the Reservation among teenagers and adults is reflected as well in a high incidence of violent conduct, child neglect, and family disorganization. Eleven percent of all admissions to the Public Health Service hospital at Pine Ridge are due to violence, accidents, and poisoning. A common "game" among pre-schoolers in nurseries on the Reservation is playing drunk, lurching about, and pretending to beat one another. The relationship between drinking and mortality due to suicide, homicide, and accidents is not difficult to establish. Research is now being conducted by the mental health program at Pine Ridge exploring, particularly, the relationship between accident rates and suicide, and generally, the relationship between mental illness and accidents on the Reservation.

The mental health program has only recently been introduced to the Pine Ridge Reservation. The staff is small and has really only just begun to explore the dimensions of mental health problems of the Oglala Sioux on the Reservation. Accordingly, data on mental illness is limited to several general indices -- suicide, alcoholism, and criminal conduct. Preliminary indications, however, are that mental illness may be the single most significant health problem on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.

Underlying Causes

With respect to the problems of physical health, the five leading categories of causes of premature deaths among Indians are, in order, accidents; influenza and pneumonia; certain diseases of early infancy (respiratory, digestive, and infective and parasitic diseases); gastritis, duodenitis, enteritis, and colitis; and tuberculosis. The five leading causes of morbidity are otitis media, gastroenteritis, pneumonia, strep sore throat and influenza, and trachoma.

All of the diseases listed are communicable diseases which flourish primarily among populations living in poor housing, with its usual concomitants of contaminated water, inadequate sewage disposal, and other environmental factors, such as malnutrition, which adversely affect health. Statistics on inadequacy of housing at Pine Ridge are shocking: of the 1,917 units on the reservation, only 12 percent are considered standard, 34 percent are substandard but renovatable, and 54 percent dilapidated, requiring replacement. Detailed statistics on sewage and water are not available. About 25 percent of the Reservation population has a safe water supply; estimates on adequate sewage disposal facilities are not available, although it is apparent that many outdoor privies are in a state of considerable disrepair. A Baseline Data Survey was conducted in late 1967 through early 1968 by the Public Health Service, but did not collect information on waste disposal; however, data on the percentage of homes with water piped into the home was 40 percent. This figure, as well as a figure of 60 percent for the number of homes with electricity, seems high to staff of other agencies. The apparent discrepancy between observation and the survey is probably derived from the fact that the Baseline Data Survey includes in its population a number of Indians not ordinarily considered part of the target population, for example, Indians residing in Martin -- a town within the original boundaries of the reservation but considered off-reservation from the standpoint of most program planners. For reservations Indians living on trust land, the statistics on water and electricity would be considerably lower, according to local tribal and Bureau of Indian Affairs staff judgment.

Experience has shown elsewhere that as housing and other environmental factors are improved, the incidence of diseases such as those prevalent at the Pine Ridge Reservation decreases dramatically, virtually to the point of extinction. For example, the incidence of certain common enteric infections can be lowered four- to six-fold simply by replacing an outdoor privy for an indoor water closet. For another example, otitis media caused as much as one-half of all admissions to children's hospitals in New York City thirty years ago. Today otitis media has almost disappeared in the general population, and when a child contracts it, antibiotics provide a prompt cure. The disease was bypassed, as it were, by history; it disappeared as a major health problem through a general increase in the standard of living of Americans so that necessary research to produce a vaccine for the virus-caused strain of otitis media was never undertaken. Although no longer a problem among the general population, it remains a leading cause of morbidity on reservations.

There are no simple, preventive vaccines for these diseases, and cures tend to be long and costly. Tuberculosis is the best example of this, but four out of five of the pneumonia and enteric diseases are resistant to the various antibiotics so that contraction of one of these may mean a protracted stay in the hospital. While medical care, insofar as it is available in a medical facility under direct professional attention, may substantially affect mortality associated with these illnesses, it is of no effect in dealing with the antecedent conditions which lead to the illness itself. For this, a program of preventive hygiene and environmental change is required.

With respect to the problem of mental illness, the underlying causes are much more complex. The pathology of poverty -- substandard housing, malnutrition, the incidence of preventable disease and injury, idleness and low educational achievement -- is relevant both as a cause and reinforcing factor in the incidence of mental ill-health on the Reservation. The reverse assumption is probably also true -- that is, mental illness is itself often a cause of physical ill-health and can also be an obstinate barrier to breaking out of the poverty cycle.

On the Pine Ridge Reservation, however, the problem is not fully described by reference to mental illness in a narrow clinical sense. The Oglala Sious today suffer a set of highly dysfunctional attitudes -- towards themselves, their communities, and the white man -- which impair their ability to live productive and satisfying lives. Their attitudes derive to a considerable degree from a deep-seated ambivalence about being Indian. Cultural transition and acculturation experience has only been partly effective, and the result has been a confused sense of identity for the Indian.

On the one hand, the Oglala Sioux prizes his "Indianness," and judges himself and others in the community by how "Indian" they are. Although the degree of Indian blood has been considered a factor in

"Indianness," it--in fact--appears to have little relevance to the quality of "Indianness." Rather, "Indianness" is a set of normative values which govern his attitudes toward himself, his treatment of others, and his expectation of treatment by them in return.

The content of these values is both positive and negative, the positive content lies in the Indian's view of Indian values. For instance, Indians are viewed as being generous and sharing, close to nature, and concerned about the spiritual aspects of living. In each case, these characteristics appear to be in opposition to those of the white man who is viewed as being greedy, selfish, materialistic, and uncaring. Thus, the negative content to the concept of "Indianness" is that a true Indian does not behave like a white man, does not accept a white man's job, does not leave the community, does not accept the goals set for him by the white man. This negative content may even be more deeply rooted--that is, an uneasy knowledge that he cannot survive vis-a-vis the white man, and that the dominant culture holds the quality of "Indianness" inferior, a judgment borne out in the final marketplace, the conquered versus unconquered.

On the other hand, and alongside this tendency to identify with "Indianness," is an almost universal acceptance by Indians, conscious and subconscious, of the notion that Indians are no good, and that Indians are lazy, drunken bums. Responsibility for this tragic self-doubt, even self-hate on the part of the Oglala Sioux, lies in part with the policy of cultural aggression which was pursued by the federal government for many generations. Thus, for a long time, the prevailing educational policy on the part of the federal government was to eradicate the quality of being Indian. Additionally, the Oglala Sioux were conquered at the height of their powers, and the durable trust relationship with the federal government which resulted, with its implication that the Indian could not fend for himself, could not fail to yield an ambivalence in attitude of the Indian toward himself.

Today, a virtually defining characteristic of being an Indian is to have a special relationship to the federal government. That special relationship--defined in terms of obligations assumed by the federal government in treaties and legislation to provide certain goods and services in exchange for land taken and other losses suffered by tribes--is jealously guarded as strongly today as it was at the time these treaties were being signed. Some specific provisions of treaties (archaic ones--to provide a gunsmith, for example) go unenforced, but the basic obligation of the federal government "to take care of" Indians "until the rivers cease to flow and the sun ceases to shine" (typical treaty language), has not by any means been forgotten. Thus, from the Indian's point of view, dependency upon the federal government is a right belonging to Indians, which right has been recognized by the federal government in paper treaty, but seemingly broken in practice.

Accordingly, the Oglala Sioux are caught in a confusion of values and attitudes about themselves and the white community. They feel they are superior to the white man, yet at the same time inferior to him, but that in any event they have a legal and moral right to be dependent upon him.

All of these combine to create tremendous problems of psychological adjustment for the Sioux as an individual and for the Sioux community as a whole. As might be expected, adolescence is actually painful among Oglala Sioux youth. Comparative studies made of Oglala Sioux students and nearby non-Indian students by Holy Rosary Mission personnel and the Public Health Service mental health staff indicate that Oglala Sioux youth have significantly greater feelings of depression, alienation, and powerlessness, than normally attends adolescence. These feelings are manifested in early drop-out and push-out from the educational systems, an early experience with glue-or gasoline-sniffing, and subsequently with serious drinking, and a generally increasing pattern of delinquent behavior.

Among the adult population, there is abundant evidence of dysfunction in the extraordinary rates of alcoholism and problem drinking found on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Alcohol serves a number of purposes at the Pine Ridge Reservation as elsewhere, and PHS Mental Health studies have identified four major reasons given by Oglala Sioux for drinking. The first three reasons are, interestingly, not dissimilar to those typically given by the dominant white culture. First, drinking is a a way to have fun, relax and forget the world's cares. On the reservation, in fact, there are few alternative diversions. Movies, television and other forms of general entertainment are inaccessible for most Oglala Sioux. Informal, small group social gatherings, and for the more bold and active, general carousing, are the principal means of entertainment. Second, drinking loosens one, permitting more uninhibited expression and communication with other people. This is a form of expression ordinarily denied the Oglala Sioux by their non-verbal culture. Third, drinking frees the Oglala Sioux from the learned restraints against expressing hostility and aggression against those who govern them. The Oglala Sioux is bitter and angry about his life, and unable to focus his anger without, at the same time, fearing a loss of federal benefaction; thus, he redirects his hostility inward. Fourth, the Oglala Sioux drinks because he has come to believe, based on his experience with white America, that drinking is what is expected of him.

Reinforcing Factors

Health care on the Reservation is basically the responsibility of the Public Health Service, since 1955 part of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The Reservation is generally without private doctors or dentists; thus, PHS provides general medical care, dental care, psychiatric treatment, field health and sanitation.

The basic PHS facility on the Reservation is the 58-bed hospital located at Pine Ridge community. Although the hospital at Pine Ridge is relatively modern and well-equipped, it is the only full-time medical facility on the Reservation. People who live in communities up to ninety miles or more away must find their own way to the clinic at Pine Ridge, or await the arrival of a traveling once-a-week clinic to arrive in their own communities to obtain medical attention from a doctor. Three or four public health nurses regularly visit outlying Reservation areas, but they must spread themselves over some 4,000 square miles and approximately 10,000 people.

When patients do come into the clinic, conditions are often excessively crowded and some wait all day and leave before they are seen. Waiting-room facilities are drab, uncomfortable, and uninviting. If a patient is without private transportation, and most are, he must walk or hire a car to drive him to the clinic. There is no public transportation available, and the cost of hiring a car can be anywhere from five dollars if the distance is fifteen to twenty miles away, to fifteen or twenty dollars if the distance is ninety miles away. This is a prohibitive expense for most Oglala Sioux, especially considering that the under-employment and unemployment rate on the Reservation is 52 percent, and that fully 75 percent of all households have annual incomes under $4,000. Rural patients, moreover, are often aggravated when they arrive and find the clinic crowded, more often than not with patients from the immediately surrounding area close to Pine Ridge.

At present, the PHS facility is inadequate to cover medical needs, primarily because of its inaccessibility to a large proportion of the Reservation population. The surgical facilities are also inadequate for certain surgical needs. There is one operating room; however, there is no recovery room, no intensive care unit, no psychiatric unit, no chronic or extended care unit, and there are an insufficient number of surgical beds. Elective surgery is presently performed at the hospital several days a week by a contract surgeon. It is sometimes necessary to transfer surgical cases to hospitals off the Reservation and some distance away. It might be noted, however, that to the degree the need for surgery is elective, rather than emergency in character, it does not appear inappropriate to transfer patients to other facilities to receive special care. An extended out-reach program to diagnose surgical needs earlier, thereby reducing the number of emergency cases, would help to ease the present over-crowding.

Only minimal physical therapy, occupational, and rehabilitation programs are provided at present. Cerebrovascular accident patients, amputees and other accident patients receive very limited rehabilitative therapy, as distances to referral facilities are prohibitive. There are no facilities for extended care patients so that such patients must be retained in the hospital far longer than would otherwise be necessary, a practice which contributes to present over-crowding.

The hospital provides no ambulance service except emergency transportation of patients from the PHS hospital to other facilities. The Tribe provides inadequate service, so that the police have to transport many cases.

There is a serious problem of community relations. In spite of the progress which has been made in the last few years, neither the Oglala Sioux nor the Public Health Service personnel are satisfied with the situation. Living and working conditions for PHS personnel are not attractive to those accustomed to city living. On the other hand, the Oglala Sioux remain skeptical of PHS personnel, and in many instances, utilization of PHS services seems whimsical. Contacts between personnel and Oglala Sioux are frequently disappointing to both parties and progress in cross-cultural understanding has been slow.

It is generally believed by the Oglala Sioux that before the white man came, Indians were never ill. With the white man came all the infectious diseases, tuberculosis, ear infections, kidney infections, measles, whooping cough, venereal disease and pneumonia. Some are convinced that mental retardation was brought by the white man and illnesses like cancer, diabetes, heart trouble and gall stones result from trying to live like the white man. By treaty, say the Oglala Sioux, the white man is obligated to care for the health of the Tribe, but he is fulfilling that obligation in only a grudging and minimal fashion. With few exceptions, the doctors at the Pine Ridge PHS facility have been young physicians serving out their military obligations with PHS, rather than with the military service. Accordingly, they ordinarily stay no longer than two years. The Oglala Sioux tend to view this as an example of minimal effort to cure their ills, and argue that the government is simply sending inexperienced doctors to experiment on Indians.

To the Oglala Sioux, whose personal relations with others rarely occur in a setting of confrontation; the kind of argument or scolding that whites customarily expect from their doctor has been found to discourage the Oglala Sioux patient from coming again. In addition, the Oglala

Sioux is insulted by the apparent brusqueness of doctors who must see fifty to a hundred patients a day. Sioux cultural values proscribe personal relations that are not courteous, meticulous, and free from personal conflict. If he is angry or confused, whether by the instructions from the doctor or by the assembly line atmosphere of the crowded clinic, the Oglala Sioux is likely to withdraw and remain silent. It is not surprising that resort to Tribal medicine men is still a common practice on many reservations today, including the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.

The lack of effective environmental control and the slow development of field health facilities and preventive care practices persists as a reinforcing factor in the high rate of illness on the Reservation. The centralization of facilities in Pine Ridge and the thin coverage provided by the traveling field health clinics merely insures that a substantial population will continue to remain unreached.

Experience has shown that Oglala Sioux, for their part, are not taking full advantage of services even when they are accessible. Lack of knowledge of health programs, or a previous unsatisfying experience account for much of this. In many instances, however, the problem is simply indifference. This is especially true of elderly persons. Thus, many health problems remain hidden from Public Health Service medical personnel for lack of effective communication with the community and the private health practices of an overwhelming number of Oglala Sioux remain primitive and unyielding to change.

Present Efforts

Field health clinics are held in only four reservation communities outside Pine Ridge: Kyle and Wanblee -- one full day per week; Allen -- one-half of one day per week; and Manderson -- one-half of one day every other week. When there is a considerable amount of sickness, some of the one-half day clinics are extended to a full day. The Field Health Program generally is staffed by one physician, three Public Health nurses, one clinic nurse, two licensed vocational nurses, one nutritionist, a pharmacist, four clinic aides, two clerks, one Health Education Specialist, and the Sanitary Facilities Construction program staff by one engineer and two sanitarians. Staffing,when the clinic is traveling, typically consists of a physician, one public health nurse, one licensed vocational nurse, a pharmacist, and a secretary from the local community.

The office of Economic Development contains a health component in its program staffed with 15 health aides, one social worker aide, four health aide leaders, and a director. There is close coordination of effort between the PHS field health program and that of OED. Most of the efforts of the health aides is spent in providing various health services to homemakers, such as helping them spray their houses and nursing services, although time and effort is also expended on health education.

Under the Sanitation Facilities Construction Program over the last eight years, a safe water supply has been extended to 2,400 people on the Reservation and safe waste disposal facilities to a fraction of these. All new housing is built to include certified water and waste disposal facilities. At the present time, water and sewage facilities for 44 homes are under construction, and work will begin on facilities for an additional 105 families in the near future.

The present dental program consists of one permanent four-chair facility at Pine Ridge, with a staff of two dental officers and four dental assistants, and a mobile dental unit, shared with other reservations; this mobile unit travels the Reservation three months a year. The mobile unit treats only children; the Pine Ridge PHS facility provides only emergency care to adults, all other patients being children.

At the Pine Ridge hospital, tentative plans have been made for another operating room and for an intensive care-recovery room and equipment. Present PHS construction plans provide for only two new medical-surgical beds, which will bring the hospital bed complement up to 60, still 40 short of what PHS personnel feel is needed within the present scope of the centrally located facilities program. This plan also provides for enlarging the laboratory, pharmacy and radiological facilities, and conversion of one patient room to a psychiatric facility.

The Community Mental Health Program, with a staff of one psychiatrist, three social workers, an anthropologist, a psychologist, a social work aide and a research aide, is relatively new and has initiated, among other things, the following activities: 1) a Baseline Data Survey to gain certain basic information about the Reservation population, including information which extends beyond mere health data; 2) research and program activities in alcoholism, including therapy for chronic alcoholics referred by the Law and Order Branch; 3) research and program activities in the area of the most serious manifestation of mental illness--suicide, attempted and successful -- including therapy for attemptors, consultation with staff of other agencies, and program development; and 4) mental health education through speeches, workshops and consultation sessions with school personnel, community groups, welfare staff, and law enforcement personnel. This pioneering effort, as against the total health effort, represents only eight percent of PHS staff and 11 percent of the budget.

Solutions and Goals

Long Term

Excluding accidents, the leading causes of illness and premature death on the Reservation are infectious diseases, the high incidence of which can be directly traced to physical environment -- inadequate water, waste disposal, and housing. The mere provision of water supply and toilet facilities in the home would have an immediate impact on the rate of such illnesses at the Pine Ridge Reservation. Whatever else may be said, the paramount long-term goal for physical health should be basic environmental correction to eliminate the antecedent conditions for such illnesses.

In the area of medical services, the present approach -- which involves the centralization of facilities at Pine Ridge-- should be changed. While it is appropriate to have certain facilities centralized, the nearly complete focus of present treatment facilities at Pine Ridge has resulted in unnecessary hardship for many Oglala Sioux and made a comprehensive health program reaching the whole Reservation population virtually impossible. A more useful program would involve the dispersal of basic clinical services and emergency care units throughout the Reservation, with the retention of extended care and central hospital facilities at Pine Ridge. Put another way, the range of medical services required on the Pine Ridge Reservation should be evaluated with a view towards maximum possible dispersal. The ready availability of medical attention has become basic to modern health programming and in an area such as Pine Ridge, where there are no local community doctors or facilities and the nearest medical attention may be one hundred miles away, out-reach programs on a once-a-week, traveling basis can be only minimally effective. In fact, PHS could well locate housing for physicians in the scattered communities, to permit medical care to be dispensed from the homes of the physicians.

Expansion of mental health services represents another long-term goal. Expansion and development of the present range of clinical mental health services is sorely needed. The problem is larger, however, than mental illness in the clinical sense. As used in this report, the notion of mental health is extended to embrace a set of dysfunctional attitudes held by large numbers of Oglala Sioux which make adjustment to the white man's culture an excruciating experience. No program intended to ameliorate the conditions of life for the Oglala Sioux will succeed which is not sensitive to cross-cultural dimensions of life on the Reservation.

Five-Year Goal

Even though the principal approach should be the dispersal of medical services, the Pine Ridge Hospital should be expanded. It should include a fully operation, 24-hour emergency and elective surgery program with a staff of two board-qualified surgeons and two anaesthesiologists. An additional operating room should be constructed and forty more beds provided: a seven-bed combination intensive care, post-operative recovery room; a five-bed psychiatric unit; a ten-bed chronic or extended care unit; and 18 medical-surgical beds. Last year alone, the PHS hospital processed a total of slightly over 2,000 hospital admissions and 30,000 out-patient visits. It is estimated that this represented only a portion of the total number of Oglala Sioux needing medical care. Thus, even while basic environmental change leading to a reduction of the incidence of infectious diseases might be expected to reduce the number of patients requiring hospital care, an effective out-reach program can be expected to equalize or offset such a decrease.

The out-patient clinic should be expanded to include a larger and more attractive lobby and waiting room. In addition, adequate over-night accommodations should be provided in Pine Ridge for relatives of in-patients as well as for out-patients who must come long distances for clinical consultations. Moreover, space and staff should be developed for a physical therapy, occupational and rehabilitative program.

A fully approved extended care facility offering 24-hour nursing care should be constructed; it ought also to incorporate clinical facilities for routine testing and innoculations in order to relieve some of the present congestion at the PHS hospital. Federal health insurance programs are now available which should permit adequate cost reimbursement so that such a facility can be effectively operated. This facility might be owned and operated by the Tribe.

A comprehensive dental care program for the Pine Ridge Reservation should be developed, and would require the following staff: one dental administrator to coordinate the entire program of education, administration, ordering supplies, etc.; six dentists, one each at Wanblee and Wounded Knee, three at Pine Ridge, and one for the Mobile Dental Unit; one oral surgeon, who could also see cases referred from other reservations in the area; 14 dental assistants with two assistants assigned to each dentist, including the oral surgeon; one dental laboratory technician, and one dental hygienist.

Such a comprehensive program would also require the following additional facilities: a mobile dental unit, exclusively for the Pine Ridge Reservation, to provide care for children at each school; a permanent two-chair facility at Wanblee and a similar facility at Wounded Knee; and a dental laboratory for crown and bridge restorations, space maintainers for children, and other prosthetic appliances.

The Felix Cohen Memorial Home staff should be expanded to provide 24-hour nursing care, so that older people requiring such relatively routine care as daily innoculations may live there. Expanded use of licensed vocational nurses in this regard should be feasible.

In general, diagnostic clinics should be established in selected communities around the Reservation. These would require minimal staff, but would provide medical shelters for emergency care as well as clinical testing and routine diagnostic services. They would also serve as focal points for an expanded community education and preventive health program and provide a local health facility with which the community could permanently identify. Use of indigenous health aides in a range of capacities, from nursing assistants to sanitation assistants and community workers, would increase the community sense that these facilities were their own. Permanent stations in outlying areas would also increase the likelihood of early detection of illness so that fewer cases would reach the PHS staff after the patient is beyond help; such an approach should also effect a reduction in the number of cases requiring hospitalization. A registered nurse could staff each station on a full-time basis, with the assistance of a licensed vocational nurse and an appropriate number of community aides, as required. Regular schedules for doctors would be maintained, but on a more frequent basis than is possible under the existing traveling clinic program. In emergency situations, physicians could be flown in by helicopter in a short period of time, or -- conditions permitting -- the patient flown to Pine Ridge.

A 24-hour ambulance service should be provided which would effectively bring the entire Reservation into easy reach of the PHS hospital at Pine Ridge. The use of helicopters for emergency cases and in times of bad weather should be routine within five years; and the Reservation airport should be improved so that patients can be flown to other facilities as the circumstances require. At present, weather conditions make it unuseable a large part of the time.

A program of alcohol control and treatment should be instituted which builds upon the present efforts of the mental health staff. The direction of this program should be toward the controlled use of alcohol, rather than total abstinence from it. Indigenous aides drawn from the client group could be employed and group counseling techniques expanded. The use of indigenous aides, under professional guidance, has been remarkable successful elsewhere in dealing with such problems, and would be particularly helpful on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation inasmuch as peer-group relationships are so essential to any meaningful rehabilitation. The sale of liquor should be allowed on the Reservation as a Tribal enterprise. This would permit Tribal control and regulation of the sale of alcohol to Oglala Sioux, and would sharply reduce the number of off-reservation arrests for drunkenness as well as the number of off-reservation accidents due to drunk driving.

One-Year Goals

A Community Relations Program should be started which is designed to overcome the present ambivalence of community attitudes toward health programs on the Pine Ridge Reservation and which will also help PHS staff to better understand patient needs, problems and attitudes. Such a program could include a Citizens Advisory Board; a Community Relations Director who would hear complaints, interpret the PHS program to the various communities on the Reservation; and an appropriate number of sub-professional community relations aides to assist the director.

All professional and sub-professional non-Indian staff in the health service field, as well as in every other field, should be required to take instruction in Sioux culture, preferably taught by the Sioux themselves, before beginning their service on the Reservation. A coordinated in-service program of training might also be initiated which would permit regular staff exchange on problems and program approaches with a view to community needs.

It is essential that the Oglala Sioux begin to view medical services on the Reservation as a community function in which they are wholly participating members. To facilitate this, a program should be developed to permit and encourage medicine men now practicing on the Reservation to become members of the PHS staff. Medicine men are now widely used by Oglala Sioux, despite the availability of conventionally-trained professional staff. Traditional forms of medical care possess many advantages and are being increasingly recognized as essential to the provision of comprehensive health care for a relatively isolated, primitive community. Both conventionally-trained medical staff and the medicine men themselves could benefit in a situation of mutual respect; given such an approach, the Oglala Sioux would be encouraged to view PHS services as basically community-inspired, and medicine men would become vernacular symbols of the medical profession, rather than the enemies of it.

The practice of midwifery in American medicine has fallen into disuse over the last generation and a half. Increasingly, however, professionals are coming to believe that there is a useful role which can be played by non-professional aides. The realization by medical professionals that certain functions are so routine that they may be performed by non-professionals, and a generally growing shortage of professional personnel, is leading the medical profession to a re-examination of many of the basic tenets of medical care, the better to determine which functions can be taken out of professional hands. Consideration should be given to whether certain medical functions associated with childbirth and preparation for childbirth could fall into this category. However, professional guidance and attention should be available, as needed. The use of midwives drawn from the Oglala Sioux would serve to make non-Indian health services less alien.

Additional incentives could be offered during the first year to draw reluctant Oglala Sioux to professional health facilities. A program of multi-phasic examinations similar to that now offered by the Kaiser Health Program in San Francisco and elsewhere in the country should be instituted for every Oglala Sioux now living on the Reservation. Such an examination would provide PHS staff with valuable baseline data on health problems on the Reservation as well as permit the development of a medical profile on each member of the Reservation. In order to insure participation by everyone living on the Reservation, remuneration could be made for each person submitting to examination.

An immediate start should be made in expanding professional and non-professional staff in the medical program, with a view toward achieving optimum staff size by the end of five years. Construction of out-reach facilities should begin, with temporary facilities provided while permanent facilities are being planned and completed.

While it is expected that the completion of adequate sanitary facilities to service the entire Reservation will not be a reality for a number of years, a program of interim facilities should be seriously considered. By careful consideration and selection of temporary facilities, an immediate impact could be made on reducing the incidence of infectious disease. Considerable technology has been developed in relation to providing essential sanitary services in the event of nuclear attack on this country, and this technology could find immediate application on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. In any case, an immediate program of water flouridation should be initiated.

Of highest priority among one-year goals should be the intensive expansion and extension of health services to out-lying areas.
A successful preventive health program on the Reservation will depend on the pace at which an out-reach program can be effected. To many Oglala Sioux, and in spite of considerable effort by the Public Health Service, present health services are impersonal, fragmented, and lacking in continuity. Ready access to medical attention and community identification with health services and personnel is essential if community acceptance of health programs is to be achieved.

Oglala Sioux Model Reservation Program

The Development Potential of the Pine Ridge
Indian Reservation

INCOME MAINTENANCE

This chapter represents a draft
of the Income Maintenance component
of the Oglala Sioux Model Reservation
Program Report

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economics
city and regional planning
development
implementation

OGLALA SIOUX MODEL RESERVATION PROGRAM

Income Maintenance

It is an extraordinary irony that the Oglala Sioux are annually the beneficiaries of $8,040 per household in public expenditures, yet suffer a median household income of but $1,910. During the fiscal year 1966/67 the Oglala Sioux were the beneficiaries of approximately 300 individual programs, administered by approximately 225 different public and private social agencies and branches of these agencies, requiring the direct ministrations of nearly 1,400 officials working full-time and approximately 425 additional officials working part-time for the direct benefit of the Oglala Sioux. Excluded from these are the numerous program officials in district, area, regional, diocese, and central offices who labored indirectly and off the Reservation for the benefit of the Oglala Sioux living on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Yet, in spite of this public benefaction, and massive public expenditures for schools and education, health facilities, and other services, the Oglala Sioux live in appalling poverty, poor health, and social disorganization.

In effect, the Oglala Sioux are tied to an economy based upon non-negotiable services, and one that fails to afford them the necessary power and capital to make the same choice in living arrangements that is allowed as a matter of right to the majority of Americans. Put another way, the Oglala Sioux receives his services and amenities as a result of public and private benefaction rather than private trade-offs and self-determination. There is little opportunity for independent action or initiative within the scope of this service strategy. In fact, the converse is true. The Oglala Sioux is forced instead into a series of dependent, authoritarian relationships with his benefactors.

The absence of beneficial result from the present service strategy, and manifestations of increasing social disorganization, suggest that a revision in strategy is crucial if the Oglala Sioux are to achieve a measure of self-determination. A service strategy, as opposed to a strategy providing direct income maintenance, inherently dictates what may or may not be provided for life on the Reservation. An income strategy, on the other hand, by providing a private sense of trade-offs and consumer decision would result both in an open market for goods and services and self-management by the Oglala Sioux within that market.

Recommendations

An income strategy should replace the present fractionated service strategy. A minimum annual household income of $3,500 could be insured on the Pine Ridge Reservation with an expenditure of less than $2.5 million as direct income subsidy.

Private operation of a number of services should replace the present public or governmental operation of these services, in order to facilitate a more flexible response to Oglala Sioux needs.

The Tribal Council should be strengthened by revision of its administrative organization, reduced in size and given a stronger footing in dealing with federal and other governmental agencies. The role of the federal government should evolve toward one of advisor to the Tribal Council as the Council assumes more direct responsibility for Oglala Sioux affairs.

INCOME MAINTENANCE

Introduction

In 1967, the 9,970 Oglala Sioux of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation suffered average annual incomes of only $3,050 per household. However, in that year, nearly one-third of all Oglala Sioux households received annual incomes under $1,000; over two-thirds received annual incomes under $3,000; and fully three-quarters received annual incomes under $4,000. In 1967, the median household income of the Oglala Sioux was $1,910; average household size was 5.6 persons.

These findings describe a people living in dire poverty. Although the average household size of the Oglala Sioux was approximately seventy percent larger than that of all Americans, their average household income was less than one-third that of the whole country. Paradoxically, however, in 1967, the Oglala Sioux were the direct collective recipients of approximately $17.6 million or $9,920 per household in public, quasi-public, private charitable, and private non-charitable earned funds. This total considers all sources and all forms of payments; thus, direct cash payments — both earned and unearned, including transfer payments — as well as the cost of all public services and income from all Indian land sales are considered together.

Two important points are apparent. First, although very substantial funds are expended for the benefit of the Oglala Sioux, the actual benefits to the Oglala Sioux relative to these costs or expenditures remain marginal. Put another way, despite very substantial direct expenditures on the Pine Ridge Reservation, two-thirds to three quarters of all Oglala Sioux households live on incomes well below the poverty threshold. Second, the significant spread between median household income ($1,910) and average household income ($3,050) suggests that the Oglala Sioux are, in income terms at least, two peoples. There are those who are employed and receive annual incomes sufficiently high to permit them the luxury of participating in at least the more readily attained aspects of the rural American mainstream. Perhaps as many as 40 percent of all Oglala Sioux households owe this participation to federal, state, county or tribal employment. The remaining 60 percent or more of all Oglala Sioux households are nonparticipants, outside this mainstream.

Accordingly, it is clear that two economies exist on the Pine Ridge Reservation, the one supported by and at least marginally geared to meet the needs of the participants, the other supported by and perhaps even less marginally geared to meet the needs of the nonparticipants. The costs of these two economies in terms of social disorganization are not easily calculated. However, the indices of social disorganization on the Pine Ridge Reservation are impressive. These indices are all the more impressive for the fact that conditions appear to be worsening.

Problem Description

Were it not for the fact that the Oglala Sioux of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation were so desperately and obviously poor, it might be concluded that they were a blessed and fortunate people. Thus, the Oglala Sioux — and perhaps American Indians on reservations generally — probably receive more total public assistance than any other group in America. The data on this point is persuasive; Table I shows data on major funding sources and amounts which were expended on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation during Fiscal Year 1966/67.

Table I: Major Funding Sources and Amounts (FY 66/67)

	Amounts	
Sources	$	%
Federal	$12,460,447	70.7%
State	766,312	4.3
County	139,219	.8
Tribal	488,567	2.8
Private Social Service	454,642	2.6
Agricultural and Land Sales	2,742,178	15.5
Private Commercial and Industrial	588,000	3.3
Total	$17,639,365	100.0%

It is apparent that without the funding assistance of the federal government, the Oglala Sioux of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation would suffer even greater poverty than is already their lot. However, the indices of need remain impressive. Thus, despite several generations of federally-assisted education, the median number of school years completed remains well below the median for white America. Only nonwhites, including Indians, in America exhibit a lower median; however, this median is substantially lowered as a result of failure to provide even marginally adequate educational services to Negroes in the South. Table II on the following page shows data on educational attainment levels for the Oglala Sioux; Table II also shows comparable data for white and nonwhite Americans. Distinctions noted between full bloods and mixed-bloods are not so much genetic distinctions as they are distinctions based on individual identity.

Table II: School Years Completed (Persons 25 years old and over)

Percentage Distribution

	Elementary School			High School		College			
	Less than 5 yrs	5-7 yrs	8 yrs	1-3 yrs	4 yrs	1-3 yrs	4 yrs	Total Percent	Median Years
Oglala Sioux	8.5	24.4	21.1	25.3	15.5	3.9	1.3	100.0	8.8
Full Bloods	12.1	33.0	22.3	21.5	9.0	1.4	.7	100.0	8.3
Mixed Bloods	4.5	14.5	19.7	29.7	22.9	6.7	2.0	100.0	10.2
U.S. Whites	6.7	12.8	18.1	19.3	25.8	9.3	8.1	100.0	10.9
U.S. Nonwhites	23.5	23.4	12.8	18.7	13.8	4.4	3.5	100.0	8.2

Several points are immediately self-evident. First, there exists a significant disparity between the number of school years completed by those Oglala Sioux who identify as full bloods and those who identify as mixed bloods. Thus, the likelihood of completing high school among full bloods is substantially lower than among mixed bloods. This disparity is even greater among Oglala Sioux who have completed at least some college, with very substantially fewer full bloods having attended at least some college than mixed bloods. This suggests that educational services on the Reservation have been not only inadequate and unresponsive to the needs of the apparently more acculturated mixed bloods, but that these same educational services have been even more woefully inadequate and unresponsive to the needs of the generally less acculturated full bloods. In this respect, it is noteworthy that the median number of school years completed among mixed bloods was 10.2 years, while the median among full bloods was only 8.3 years.

By the same token, a comparison of school-year completion data between Oglala Sioux and U.S. whites shows clearly the enormous disparity of educational attainment levels. Thus, while fully 8.1 percent of all U.S. whites complete four or more years of college, only 1.3 percent of all Oglala Sioux complete four or more years of college. Moreover, only .7 percent of all adults who identify as full-blooded Oglala Sioux complete four or more years of college. This data is all the more startling, considered against the finding that in 1967 approximately $3.5 million, or $363 per capita, was expended by all public and private sources to provide educational services on the Reservation for the Oglala Sioux. By comparison, the State of South Dakota expended $161 per capita to provide educational services for all its residents, and the United States at large expended $149 per capita for all Americans; the average for all governments was $155 per capita. Accordingly, the total of all funds from all sources expended on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation to provide educational services for the Oglala Sioux exceeded the total expended to provide such services by the State of South Dakota by 125 percent (2-1/4 times). The results in terms of school-year completion levels are not impressive.

However, school-year completion data merely describes quantitative data on how long students stay in school; it may have little — if any — relevance to the quality of education. In fact, the quality of educational services on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation leaves much to be desired. Thus, while quantitatively high student drop-out rates and low school-year completion rates can superficially suggest serious failures on the part of the several educational systems on the Reservation, qualitative data clearly suggests that Oglala Sioux have fallen behind the national norms of educational attainment.

Moreover, Oglala Sioux appear to be falling further behind relative to the national norm. Table III shows data for 1965 and 1967 California Achievement Test (CAT) scores received by Oglala Sioux elementary school students attending BIA schools on the Reservation.

Table III: BIA Elementary School Student CAT (Total Battery) Scores Compared with National Norms

	Percentage of Student Scores in 50 Percentile and above Range		Percentage Decrease
Elementary School Grade	1965	1967	1965-67
Fourth	76%	59%	-35%
Fifth	67%	58%	-16%
Sixth	33%	28%	-18%
Seventh	51%	45%	-13%
Eighth	43%	30%	-43%

Although CAT score averages vary from year to year on the Reservation, it remains apparent that Oglala Sioux attending BIA elementary schools have tended to fall further behind; high drop-out rates, or more appropriately push-out rates, tend to leave the more educationally motivated in school with each succeeding grade so that — to some degree — Oglala Sioux CAT score comparisons with the national norm tend to improve for several grades following the major grades of school drop-out. This point is particularly relevant to Oglala Sioux who reach the sixth grade in which total school attendance drops substantially and CAT scores lag far behind the national norm. Put another way, the sixth grade appears as the first major of several subsequent major watersheds, which serve to separate the Oglala Sioux who will go on in school from those who will not.

That the frictional costs of providing educational services are substantial, if not excessive, is also illustrated by the fact that teachers in the BIA schools are paid much less than teachers in Shannon, Bennett, and Washabaugh counties, or even on the average in South Dakota. Thus, despite per capita educational expenditures — apart from costs of building new or improving existing school plant — which are more than twice those for non-Indian South Dakotans, BIA teachers' salaries lag behind non-BIA teachers' salaries in Shannon County by approximately 26 percent; BIA teachers' salaries lag behind San Francisco teachers' salaries by fully 40 percent. This point is particularly relevant insofar as not only must the BIA compete for teachers with other counties in South Dakota, but the BIA should also be called upon to compete for teachers with the very best educational systems throughout the country. In fact, it seems reasonable to expect more — not less — than local scale if they are to attract the very best teacher talent.

Other qualitative data is even more persuasive that the basic approach to the provision of educational services on the Reservation has essentially failed, despite the expenditure of enormous public and private funds. Put another way, qualitative data clearly suggests that educational services have not only been unresponsive to the needs of the Oglala Sioux, but that these services have tended to alienate and perpetuate the failure syndrome which so permeates Oglala Sioux society. Thus, there is persuasive data that theoretical alienation levels increase with impressive consistency among Oglala Sioux having greater degrees of blood-line identity. In fact, were a measure used which ignored blood-line identity and concentrated instead on degree of social identity with Oglala Sioux tradition, it seems more than likely that theoretical alienation scores would show an even more impressive disparity compared with rural whites with each successive increase in Oglala Sioux social identity level.

In any case, theoretical alienation levels among Oglala Sioux seventh and eighth grade students, without reference to blood-line distinctions, were fully 18 percent above their white counterparts attending public schools in rural South Dakota and Nebraska. Moreover, Oglala Sioux who showed a greater degree of blood-line identity than the Oglala Sioux blood-line average generated still higher theoretical alienation scores; accordingly, seventh and eighth grade Oglala Sioux students whose blood-line identities were three-quarters or more generated theoretical alienation scores fully 21 percent above their white rural counterparts. Oglala Sioux ninth through twelfth graders also generated high theoretical alienation scores relative to their white rural counterparts at the same grade level. By the same token, theoretical alienation scores increased consistently in accordance with increased blood-line identity.

Qualitative data which distinguishes between nonverbal and verbal intelligence quotient scores is also illustrative of the finding that the frictional costs of the present approach to the provision of educational services on the Reservation are excessive. Thus, although the nonverbal and verbal I.Q. scores of white rural ninth through twelfth graders show little disparity (110.7 and 109.4 respectively), the disparity among their Oglala Sioux counterparts is substantial (101.1 and 94.6 respectively). Moreover, this disparity is even more pronounced between the nonverbal and verbal I.Q. scores of those with greater blood-line identity. Thus, Oglala Sioux who reflect only one-quarter blood-line identity generate nonverbal and verbal I.Q. scores which are substantially the same (98.8 and 97.8 respectively), while Oglala Sioux who reflect a full blood identity generate nonverbal and verbal I.Q. scores which are substantially different (98.6 and 91.8 respectively). In any case, rural whites generate consistently higher scores on both nonverbal and verbal I.Q. tests than do their Oglala Sioux counterparts, regardless of blood-line identity. This suggests, among other things, that the improvement of educational services is only marginally a function of increased per capita expenditures and that there remains a basic malaise which must be cured before Oglala Sioux education can be significantly improved.

In 1967, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the South Dakota State Department of Health combined to spend $1,771,878 on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. This total reflects an expenditure of $183 per capita. By comparison, the State of South Dakota spent only $13 per capita in providing publicly-financed medical care to its residents, and the United States spent $28 per capita on all Americans. It should be noted, however, that most expenditures on health in the United States are not financed publicly, but are financed privately. As a result, data on the cost of providing public health care on the Reservation (which is only marginally supplemented by the private purchase of health services) with the cost of providing private health care off the Reservation (which is only marginally supplemented by the public provision of health services) is not readily comparable. However, the fact that nationally approximately $174 per capita, or close to the total public expenditure per capita on the Reservation, is presently being spent, both publicly and privately to provide health care — exclusive of plant construction or improvement —

suggests that public funds on the Reservation are not being well spent. In this respect, the data is overwhelming. The post neonatal (28 days to 11 months) infant mortality rate is three times that for all Americans, although the neonatal (under 28 days) infant mortality rate is approximately the same as that for all Americans. This appears to suggest that although neonatal care in PHS hospitals is comparable to that available to all Americans and that, accordingly, most births must now occur in the PHS hospital, family health care outside the hospital is substantially worse. Put another way, it would appear that the present approach to health care insofar as it must occur in a medical facility under direct professional attention is grossly inadequate by reason of the fact that it tends to ignore the private, non-professional care which must inevitably return the patient to the Oglala Sioux family. In this sense, the present approach to medical care remains crisis-oriented, as distinct from preventive-health-care-oriented.

Tubercular rates are illustrative of this point. Thus, in the years between 1954 and 1964, both national and Indian mortality rates attributable to tuberculosis dropped by approximately the same percentage, 61 and 55 percent, respectively. However, the Indian mortality rate due to tuberculosis remained at approximately the same ratio to the national mortality rate due to tuberculosis, or approximately five times the national rate. This suggests that treatment techniques have substantially improved in the decade between 1954 and 1964, such that the Oglala Sioux have merely benefited in the same ratio as have all Americans. Put another way, medical care dealing with tubercular pathology on the Reservation has not improved as a function of problems peculiar to Oglala Siouxs. In this respect, it is noteworthy that morbidity rates attributable to tuberculosis have also fallen by approximately the same percentage for both Indians and all Americans alike. Nonetheless, the morbidity rate among Indians remains approximately seven times that among all Americans.

Data on morbidity attributable to amoebic and bacillary dysentery even more clearly illustrates the point that expenditures for health care on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation still sorely fail to generate conditions which meet the most rudimentary standards of health care for all Americans. Thus, the incidence of dysentery can be taken as an indice of the effectiveness of family-oriented health care inasmuch as dysentery prevention may be more a matter of family rather than professional medical care. In 1964, the incidence of dysentery among American Indians was approximately 49 times that among all Americans. During the previous decade, the Indian dysentery morbidity rate had remained substantially constant, as had the dysentery morbidity rate for all Americans.

Once again, this suggests that while professionally-administered health care may, at least in the PHS hospital and clinics, approximate that available to all Americans, the real failure of the health care program on the Reservation remains in its inability to extend health care services to the home in the form of family health care. It also seems likely that the mere infusion of additional funds to improve hospital care will have little real affect on overall mortality and morbidity rates on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. The fact remains that while approximately 72 percent of all deaths nationally are attributed to degenerative, chronic conditions and long-term illnesses, only 35 percent of all deaths among Indians are attributed to these same causes. Put another way, while superficially this might first appear to indicate that Indian health is better than health nationally, in fact, Indian mortality rates are more frequently attributable to causes which are rarities among most Americans. Accordingly, death due to what is commonly termed "old age" is approximately twice as likely among all Americans as it is among American Indians alone.

One other point remains especially noteworthy with reference to the efficacy of health care in terms of the expenditure of public funds on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation relative to the expenditure of an almost equal sum total of public and private funds off reservations for all Americans. This point turns about the fact that while crude death rates from all causes are approximately the same for Indians and all Americans alike, major disparities remain, and among causes of deaths which may be attributed to social disorganization, the death rates have actually increased over the last decade.

Thus, deaths due to accidents (163.6/100,000), cirrhosis of the liver (26.7/100,000), homicide (15.9/100,000), and suicide 16.0/100,000) now account for a total of 222.2 deaths per 100,000 population, or 25.6 percent of all deaths. By comparison, deaths due to these four causes nationally now account for only 81.8 deaths per 100,000 population or only 11.4 percent of all deaths. In 1954 (14 years ago), the combined Indian mortality rate due to these four causes was 177.0 deaths per 100,000 population. Accordingly, as improvements in traditional health care are effected among the American Indians, causes of death as indices of social disorganization take an increasing toll of Indian lives. Among some Indian age groups, deaths attributed to any of the four major leading causes of death having significance in terms of social disorganization may exceed nine times that among all Americans of similar ages. Thus, the mortality rate attributed to accidents among Indian adults in the 25-44 age group is fully 5.2 times as great as among all Americans in the same age group, and the mortality rate attributed to cirrhosis of the liver among Indian adults in this same age group is fully 9.2 times that among all Americans in the same age group. In the 15- to 19-year-old age group, suicide is not only the second leading cause of death among Indian youths, but it also occurs at a rate fully 4.1 times as great as among all Americans; among Indians, homicide is the third leading cause of death in this age group, and occurs at a rate fully 2.6 times as great as among all Americans. Among American Indians in the 20- to 24-year-old age group, homicide is the second leading cause of death, and occurs at a rate fully 4.3 times as great as among all Americans in the same age group; among American Indians in this age group, suicide is the third leading cause of death.

Housing, employment, and crime data can also be analyzed along functional lines. However, it seems enough here to make the point that housing is generally substandard, employment opportunities are few and constricted, and the incidence of crime — at least in tribal court terms — is exceedingly high. Without a coordinated plan which recognizes the essential social structure of Oglala Sioux culture, it seems clear that additional expenditures will not effect a significant improvement in the lives of the Oglala Sioux.

Underlying Causes

Although it remains almost inevitable that an analysis of the efficacy of social services follows categorical or functional lines, it seems appropriate to suggest that the basic problem of providing social services on the Reservation is that noncash categorical or functional services are not only essentially unresponsive, but that they deny the existence of the Oglala Sioux as a whole man. This point seems to be especially applicable to the problem of providing educational services on the Reservation, although it seems appropriate to consider the meaning of educational services in its broadest sense to include home and family care training, health care training, and job training. The indices of maladaptive behavior dominate all other indices. Failure to achieve an adequate education, demonstrated by extremely high drop-out rates, initially low and subsequently decreasingly lower intellectual performance with each successively higher grade level, alcoholism, crime, and juvenile delinquency are common indices of social disorganization of the Reservation.

All of this suggests an alienation level which is not only substantial, but which denies the basic goals of the BIA relative to the Oglala Sioux. Thus, the point which can be made relative to the clash between the values fostered by traditional educational services on the Reservation and Oglala Sioux traditions can also be made relative to the whole relationship between adult Oglala Sioux and their BIA administrators. In an educational context, the hypothesis is that alienation among Oglala Sioux children will be positively related to the discrepancy between teacher values and Oglala Sioux child-rearing practices. Put another way, to the extent that a teacher responds to his Oglala Sioux students in an authoritarian manner and fosters competition in the classroom, his students will evidence high levels of alienation, low levels of aspiration, low achievement, and low achievement motivation.

It may almost be said that the harder school teachers (read "BIA administrators") try to direct Oglala Sioux toward acceptable white goals, the more resistent will be the Oglala Sioux response, regardless of age.

Accordingly, the cooperative mode of existence with its focus on generosity and its antagonism to status-seeking — which is deeply rooted in the child-rearing practices of the Oglala Sioux — runs counter to the goals of a system which values competition and rewards success relative to the failure of others. The development of symbols which array children along a continuum of success and failure and which also tends to provide new symbols and differential treatment within such a continuum is clearly alien and unacceptable to both Oglala Sioux children and their parents. Traditional failure among Oglala Sioux is interpreted in terms of peer-group ridicule and shame, as distinct from the authoritarian direction and guilt training typical of white, middle-class America. Technically, the clash can be placed in the context of the typically "shame" culture of the Oglala Sioux at odds with the "guilt" culture of white, middle-class America. In money terms, it is clear that the mere infusion or even saturation of funds to provide substantially "improved" services will continue to fail.

In the final analysis, the issue which is most disturbing in terms of the now considerable frictional costs of providing noncash, inevitably authoritarian, services to the Oglala Sioux remains the failure of the Oglala Sioux to respond to federal, state, local, and private funding munificence. The underlying causes are complicated by their multiplicity and subtly. However, an underlying thesis appears to tie together loose ends, and provide a thread of continuity, the clear recognition of and appropriate response to which could enhance living conditions on the Reservation and — at the same time — insure a more attractive cost to benefit ratio. The relationship of the BIA to the Oglala Sioux, and Indian tribes generally, has been authoritarian in both a literal and figurative sense. Put another way, despite the seeming emotional commitment to partnership which characterizes the relationship of the BIA to the Oglala Sioux, the actual relationship of the Bureau of the Oglala Sioux has not been one of either partnership and equal cooperation, nor even one of giving and receiving advice and aid in solving mutual problems. Rather, it tends to be a relationship of the controller to the controlled. Although other considerations may better illustrate this relationship, the fact that fully 96.2 percent of all funds spent on the Reservation have their origin outside the control and direct effort of the Oglala Sioux may be indication enough of the extreme dependence of the Oglala Sioux on federal, state, local, and private, externally-controlled charitable sources. However, even this impressive quantification fails to fully describe the degree of dependency and, conversely, the certain authoritarian quality of the BIA relative to the people it serves. Thus, even the 3.8 percent which may be attributed to private enterprise — in the broadest sense to include private cattle grazing as well as private industrial activities — is largely dependent on public assistance and constraints; assistance can take the forms of the public services provided by county rural extension agents or of BIA industrial development specialists, and constraints can take the forms of public per acre cattle grazing limitations or control of land-lease income advances.

This authoritarian relationship was true not only by virtue of history, but by virtue of European ethic which is basically authoritarian in nature. The

Oglala Sioux, perhaps more than most Indian tribes, were subdued by force. Moreover, this subduction appears to have occurred at the near zenith of their cultural and economic development, which fact has made the Oglala Sioux all the more nostalgic for a life that almost was and has made the fall all the more painfull. In any case, beginning with the War Department and subsequently the BIA under the jurisdiction of the Department of Interior, the Oglala Sioux have had their destiny shaped by authoritarian decisions which have been essentially unilateral, regardless of the good intentions of the administrators. This does not in any way deny that the BIA, as well as other agencies working on the Reservation, have frequently been well-intentioned in their motives to improve the lot of the Oglala Sioux. In short, to the Oglala Sioux, the Bureau of Indian Affairs — and probably all others concerned with their welfare — continue to symbolize the authoritarian aspect of their relationship as a people controlled relative to their controllers.

Thus, the Bureau (which appears to encompass all non-Indians and Indians alike not otherwise obviously in the same social circumstances as the mass of Oglala Sioux) holds their land in trust, and releases land to only those Oglala Sioux which it decides unilaterally are competent. The Bureau grants funds unilaterally on reservation or tribal expenditures. It, at least in the extended sense, grants welfare payments unilaterally, in amounts — at least from the viewpoint of the Oglala Sioux — which it sees fit. And the Bureau can clear the road of snow for a favored Oglala Sioux and deny such a service to one not favored. In short, the unilateral authoritarian control pervades the Oglala Sioux-federal relationship, and denies the whole man in the way that urban welfare practices frequently deny the ghetto family the social orientation of a male head of household.

As history developed, no other administrative relationship appeared possible, certainly given the authoritarian mental set of the dominant white culture from which BIA administrators were and are drawn, and within which federal policy is structured. The Oglala Sioux were first controlled as an alien and conquered people. However, the ethics of a "guilt" society based on authoritarian control would not permit the Oglala Sioux to be enslaved in any formal sense or killed, as the Oglala Sioux would have killed or enslaved a people they had subdued. In fact, the American authoritarian mystique serves to deny such an approach which requires the total subjugation or slaughter of a conquered people.

Rather, the authoritarian mystique requires that a kind of special salvation, rooted in the certainty that the values of the dominant culture are true, be impressed upon those subjugated for their own good. As a result, the Oglala Sioux were treated as prisoners, made helpless the better to mold their minds and society into a new and better form, and at the same time clothed and fed in order to maintain the body intact during the process of salvation. Accordingly, in an economy which regarded the Oglala Sioux traditional under-utilization of land as intolerably wasteful and an interference with the American destiny, and which believed wholly in its ability to manipulate this piece of the greater American environment much as it was in the process of transforming other sectors, it seemed necessary to transform the Oglala Sioux into white men in the most broadly acceptable American mold.

The symptoms and the results have been described before, although it appears with little affect. Summary repetition is necessary inasmuch as it is the clash of the authoritarian mystique with Oglala Sioux traditions which lie at the heart of the problem of improving the lot of the Oglala Sioux people. This point is especially relevant in terms of the day-to-day administration of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation and the kinds of people most likely to be attracted to the ranks of Bureau administration and, perhaps, the ranks of a public bureaucracy generally.

Thus, made helpless, their every action in accordance with their own culture forbidden--in religion, in home life, in community relationships, in property relationships--the Oglala Sioux have responded with a type of behavior comparable to that characterized by clinical psychologists as "hostile dependence." This means that they are hostile and also that they are dependent, but it also means more: it means that they act as if they were using their dependence, the only weapon they perceived available to them until very recently, as a weapon against the Bureau.

The relationship is like that which sometimes emerges between a child and a mother who manages the child's every act: swamping him with attention and what she takes to be love, guiding his every step, refusing to let him do things for himself, insisting that she do for him what he should be doing for himself, and demanding everything in return. Sometimes such a child, in an unconscious attempt to punish his mother, becomes completely passive in externals and incapable of helping himself, learning to walk and to speak late and slowly, being unable to feed himself, denying the ability to learn to speak or to read, so that through his failure to develop, his mother will feel her failure and will be punished. Having no other weapon, he makes one which operates with excruciating keenness against both mother and child alike.

To a person acquainted with the psychological reaction sketched above, the Oglala Sioux seem to act similarly — to act as if by being completely passive, by leaving in the hands of the white society complete responsibility for their problems, they would remind the white of his incapacity to solve the problem he had so arrogantly set out to master. Every case of economic need, every individual delinquency is as if intended to make BIA officials feel a sense of their personal failure, to cause them to feel guilt and defeat.

From another viewpoint, the situation may be explained in terms of the pre-conquest culture of the Oglala Sioux. The white society can be perceived as an all-powerful and all-good outside agency, having given the Sioux their lives when they were helpless before it; the Oglala Sioux endure misery now as they endured pain to prove to the all-powerful Wakan Tanka their worthiness to receive his grace. But before the white society for some reason chose to spare them, it first destroyed their life, and their passive hostility is as if they were using the only weapon they have to injure an enemy in the only way open to them, cooperating in their own paralysis.

Let it be noted that any Oglala Sioux presented with these comparisons would deny them in bewilderment and probably with indignation for the Sioux is not conscious of any desire except to improve his lot. These are interpretations, not of conscious decisions, but of the unconscious forces which determine human behavior. But the passivity of the Oglala Sioux, their inability to take the small actions necessary for small, but real improvements, the tension in their rather unreal relationships to Bureau officials, cannot be explained except in terms of such unconscious forces. This is why the problem is so baffling and frustrating to Bureau officials in the field. The endless words of discussion of problems and decisions somehow do not get at the causes of behavior. Accordingly, to the many analysts of the Oglala Sioux (particularly Hagen & Schaw), the evidence of an emotional state more or less parallel to "hostile dependence" is undeniable; no other explanation fits all the facts of the case as convincingly as this one.

The remedy is the more difficult. Thus, while an authoritative American society seems ready to offer economic inducement in the form of any measure likely to be effective, the notion of altering its own behavior in order to create a relationship in which the Oglala Sioux will be able to alter their own society may be as difficult for white Americans as for red.

Reinforcing Factors

The Pine Ridge Indian Reservation operates -- to a large degree -- outside the money economy common to the rest of the United States. It is as though the Reservation were an island, cut off from the trade and commerce in which the rest of the nation is involved. In this sense, the Reservation is an economic and social anachronism. But, more important, its social environment ill prepares the Oglala Sioux to deal with the very real complexities of life, both on and off the Reservation. A money economy is not without its advantages; it is relatively frictionless, and is capable of enormous response in the private market place on which it depends.

However, the economy of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation is basically service-oriented. As such, it represents a service strategy which is rooted in a period of Indian treaties, in which federal responsibility generally extended little further than the regular distribution of dried beef and blanket rolls to the Oglala Sioux. In a sense, this basic form of distribution has continued, although now dried beef has been supplanted by food surplus commodities, and blanket rolls have been supplanted by HAA-financed low-rent housing. However, the basic thrust remains the same: service strategy vs. income strategy, the former essentially rigid and institutional, the latter essentially flexible and responsive, the former suffering a high degree of frictional inertia, the latter enjoying a high degree of dynamic resiliency and effectiveness.

The Pine Ridge Indian Reservation was established 90 years ago. Then, as now, its operation was rooted in the notion of a service strategy, devised by an authoritarian society which believed that the provision of non-negotiable services would insure that the Oglala Sioux received what was "good" for him, and was denied what was "bad." This basic approach denied individual choice insofar as -- at least in theory-- dried beef was not supposed to have been negotiable for bed-rolls, and certainly not for whiskey. In fact, of course, it was; so, unfortunately, was an allotment of land. However, the essential fact remains that this basic service strategy, which has continued -- essentially unchanged -- into the present day, has not only generated a very considerable frictional inertia and cost, but it has also denied the Oglala Sioux a sense of choice and a simple, efficient mechanism to effect trade-offs.

Thus, while most Americans receive negotiable money which can be readily traded for products and services, and which products and services can be traded once again for money in a continuing and responsive cycle, the Oglala Sioux receive products and services which are not readily traded or negotiable. Accordingly, such products and services need not be those which the Oglala Sioux most desires, and he must trade as best he can such generally undesired food surplus commodities as soybeans and dried milk for generally more desired kerosene and potatoes. The high cost to the Oglala Sioux cannot be ignored. A prisoner of a bureaucracy he can ill understand, provided products and services he believes to be generally inadequate, inappropriate, and unresponsive, the Oglala Sioux is forced to live in a complex society of essentially non-negotiable services which tend to deny the development of a private sense of choice and trade-offs. Accordingly, too, it is little wonder that land allotments have been readily sold, leased, or permitted, and that the Oglala Sioux have so little developed the needed personal wherewithal to compete in the money market of white America. Put another way, the system has been at once self-perpetuating and self-defeating, insuring that a hostile dependency will continue indefinitely.

Nowhere is this more clearly illustrated than in Reservation land policy and the provision of educational services. Thus, the Allotment Act of 1887 was based on the premise that the Oglala Sioux, once provided with the ownership of land in fee (albeit subject to trust restrictions), would become farmers in the best American tradition. The success of the Homestead Act, as it operated among white Americans of European descent, could hardly be denied; in fact, it seems unlikely that the West would have been settled so early, without the significant incentives of the Homestead Act and massive land grants to Westward-expanding railroads. However, what worked for white Americans failed to work for red. The Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, once 2,786,539 acres, now contains only 1,518,261 acres, a reduction of 45.6 percent. This reduction reflects an alienation rate based on land sales alone, of approximately 22,600 acres per year since 1912; in fact, in the last decade, this sales rate has averaged slightly more than 30,000 acres per year. In addition, Oglala Sioux have chosen to lease to non-Indians all but ten percent of their land used for farming and permit to non-Indians almost half of their land used for grazing. That the Oglala Sioux tend to view land as a capital, albeit important, asset seems clear; that Reservation land policy is still largely agricultural in orientation seems no less clear.

The essential failure of the educational services provided the Oglala Sioux is well-documented. High school drop-out or, more appropriately, push-out rates describe a cycle of alienation which seems to continue and grow in force, intensity, and level. Thus, among all Oglala Sioux 25 years old and over, the median number of school years completed is only 8.8 years; the median among U. S. whites is 10.9 years; however, among Oglala Sioux full-bloods, the median is only 8.3 years. An inadequate education alone does not insure unemployment and a continuing cycle of poverty. However, educational and other public services which engender high rates of alienation almost certainly insure that the poverty cycle will be self-repeating.

Still another example of the self-perpetuating character of the service strategy system is illustrated by the common experience of the BIA and Indian Claims Commission with per capita payments to Indian tribes. Since 1946, the Indian

Claims Commission has granted approximately 100 awards totalling over $225,000,000. The Klamath Indian Tribe of Southern Oregon received one such award upon termination of their reservation. Approximately 1,600 tribal members each received $44,000, sharing in an award totalling approximately $2,500,000. For the most part, individual award money was ill-spent; Klamath Indians spent frivolously, paying too much for too little, for unneeded products and services. The outcome could have been predicted; in fact, it was. The Klamath Indians fell prey to Cadillac dealers and television salesmen. They did not understand the money economy, which is what those who had paid heed -- as officials -- to their needs had been saying all along. This, after all, was the rationale for the service strategy, to insure that the Klamath Indians received in non-negotiable services what was "good," and did not receive what was "bad." In a sense, however, this service strategy served as a self-proving proposition. Denied for years the responsibility of operating in a money economy, the Klamath Indians were unable to learn instantly what they had not needed to learn in the many years which preceded the award. The Klamath Indians had proved, by their conduct, that they were unable to manage their lives and, in so doing, seemed to have given new credence and force to the service strategy system. In fact, the opposite lesson ought to have been learned: that those who are denied access to the ultimate in private decision-making, a real share in the money economy, will act out the worst fears to those who would protect them from themselves.

Accordingly, the reinforcing factor which basically underlies poverty and alienation among the Oglala Sioux of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation must be attributed to the failure of a service strategy system which is at once unresponsive and denies the private sense of trade-offs and self-determination in which the rest of America is involved. Change will be no simple matter, for it is the basic system of service strategies which must be changed. Unfortunately, even the Oglala Sioux has over the years come to believe in it as a basic strategy, if only it could be "more" or "better." This will make change difficult, and it will be no less difficult for the fact that his administrators share the belief of the Oglala Sioux in the basic efficacy of a system of service strategies. Both have relatively little experience with any other system and, at least for the Oglala Sioux in a poverty culture, what is known and now available is generally viewed with greater sympathy than what is unknown and not now available.

Present Efforts

The following tables describe the distribution of funding sources and amounts expended on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation for the benefit of the Oglala Sioux. Altogether, during fiscal year 1966/67, the Oglala Sioux, directly and collectively, shared in income and the cost of services which totalled $17,639,365. This total represents an average annual cash and non-cash income of $9,920 per household. Of this total, only $3,330,178 or 18.8 percent could be attributed to non-public or private social service sources. However, even this $3,330,178 over-states the case for economic independence among the Oglala Sioux. Thus, only 44.6 percent of the $3,330,178 total attributed to non-public and private social service sources could be reasonably attributed to market-oriented earned income; the remaining 53.4 percent was attributable to income received from the sale, lease, or permit of Indian-held land. Put another way, only $1,487,000 or 8.4 percent of the $17,639,365 disbursed from all sources could be reasonably attributed to the independent, market-oriented efforts of the Oglala Sioux. This $1,478,000 represents an average annual income of only $830 per household. Transfer payments, including such cash payments as public assistance and Old Age Security Insurance, totalled an additional $1,452,591 during fiscal year 1966/67. As a result, Oglala Sioux households enjoyed -- on the average -- an additional annual income of $818 during fiscal year 1966/67. Together, market-oriented earned income and cash transfer payments totalled $2,930,591 or $1,648 per Oglala Sioux household. Nonetheless, fully 30.9 percent of all households suffered annual cash incomes under $1,000 in 1967, and fully 66.5 percent suffered annual cash incomes under $3,000.

During fiscal year 1966/67, all public and private social service programs which operated directly on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation totalled $14,309,187, or an expenditure of $8,040 per Oglala Sioux household; this total includes the $1,452,591 disbursed in the form of transfer payments, but does not include the $1,852,178 ($1,040 per household) received by the Oglala Sioux from the alteration by sale, lease, or permit of their land. However, of the $14,309,187 disbursed by all public and private social service sources, only $4,262,064 or 29.7 percent was disbursed to Oglala Sioux in the form of earned or unearned cash payments, including employment and transfer payments. Thus, each Oglala Sioux household ought to have received $2,390 on the average in direct cash payments, in addition to receiving the benefits of services which cost $5,650 per household on the average to provide. Yet, it is noteworthy and bears repetition, that fully 30.9 percent of all Oglala Sioux households suffered annual incomes under $1,000 in 1967, and fully 66.5 percent suffered annual incomes under $3,000. The average Oglala Sioux household is large and contains 5.6 members; the median annual income of all these households was only $1,910 in 1967.

Yet, during fiscal year 1966/67, the Oglala Sioux were the beneficiaries of approximately 300 individual programs, administered by approximately 225 different public and private social service agencies and branches of these agencies. Put another way, on the average, one program operated for the benefit of every six Oglala Sioux households on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. These programs required the direct ministrations of nearly 1,400 officials working full-time, and approximately 425 additional officials working part-time for the benefit of the Oglala Sioux; nearly one-third of all full-time officials were themselves Oglala Sioux. Thus, during fiscal year 1966/67, there was almost one full-time program official operating on the Reservation for each and every Oglala Sioux household; in addition, district, area, regional, diocese, and central offices employed numerous program officials who labored indirectly and off the Reservation for the benefit of the Oglala Sioux living on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. The federal government alone accounted for over 96 percent of all direct employment among program officials who labored on the Reservation, and for approximately 87 percent of all public and private social service funds directly expended on the Reservation.

Most Americans live lives based almost wholly on private income strategies; a relatively small portion of their lives is controlled by the benefits of noncash social service strategies administered by public and private agencies concerned with their welfare. Just the opposite is true among the Oglala Sioux. During fiscal year 1966/67, only 8.4 percent of all funds, earned and unearned, public and private, expended or generated directly on the Reservation, could reasonably be attributed to the independent efforts of the Oglala Sioux; the remainder, or fully 91.6 percent, had its origin in off-reservation public or private social service agencies. Put another way, most Americans appear to be the direct beneficiaries of services the value of which accounts for approximately eight percent of their total private annual household incomes. By contrast, the average Oglala Sioux household is the direct beneficiary of services the value of which is approximately twelve times their total private annual incomes. Despite this public munificence, the disparity between the quality of life for the average Oglala Sioux and his white American counterpart remains striking and substantial. Accordingly, it would appear that private income strategies may offer a substantially greater measure of effectiveness than the now overwhelmingly public services strategies which operate on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation for the direct benefit of the Oglala Sioux people.

Solutions and Goals

The problem of income maintenance among the Oglala Sioux of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation will not be easily solved. There are no easy solutions. It is clear that for both valid psychological reasons among the Oglala Sioux and administrative reasons among those agencies which presently serve the Reservation that services now generally available will have to be continued. Administrative changes can occur, and ought to occur. Thus, the Tribal Council ought to be reduced in size in order to enhance its effectiveness. Moreover, the Tribal Council ought to be strengthened vis-a-vis the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Public Health Service.

TABLE IV: Pine Ridge Indian Reservation
Funding Sources (FY 1966/67)*

Sources	Amounts $	 %
Federal	$12,460,447	70.7%
State	766,312	4.3
County	139,219	.8
Tribal	488,567	2.8
Private Social Service	454,642	2.6
Agricultural & Land Sales	2,742,178	15.5
Private Commercial & Industrial	588,000	3.3
TOTALS	$17,639,365	100.0%

*Table I, page 251 below, repeated here for reasons of data continuity.

TABLE V: Public and Private Social Service Expenditures by Source, Type, and Amount (FY 1966/67)

Agency	Appropriation	Grant	Loan	Total
Federal	$5,496,184	$4,819,813	$2,144,450	$12,460,447
State	462,846	303,466	-	766,312
County	139,219	-	-	139,219
Tribal	488,567	-	-	488,567
Private Soc. Serv.	454,642	-	-	454,642
TOTALS	$7,041,458	$5,123,279	$2,144,450	$14,309,187

TABLE VI: Public and Private Social Service Expenditures by Source, Type, and Percentage Distribution (FY 1966/67)

Agency	Appropriation	Grant	Loan	Total
Federal	78.0%	94.2%	100.0%	86.9%
State	6.6	5.8	-	5.4
County	2.0	-	-	1.0
Tribal	6.9	-	-	3.4
Private Soc. Serv.	6.5	-	-	3.3
TOTALS	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE VII: Public and Private Social Service Expenditures by Function (FY 1966/67)

Function	Agency	Program	Appropriation	Grant	Loan	Total
Education	HEW Off. Education	All ESEA projects		$2,166,568		$ 431,438
		Impacted Areas funds				
		Bennett & Washabaugh Co's.				
		BIA/JOM Funds--Shannon Co.				
	Interior/BIA	Division of Education				
		Schools and Summer Programs	$1,738,305			$1,738,305
		Higher Education Grants		61,630		61,630
		Holy Rosary Mission Contract		58,500		58,500
	OEO/CAP	Head Start		278,075		278,075
		Home Management		52,365		52,365
	South Dakota Dept. Public Instruction	Division of Indian Education				
		Scholarships		7,350		7,350
		Direct Grants				
		Bennett		7,092		7,092
		Shannon		39,000		39,000
		Washabaugh		832		832
	Counties	Bennett Public School Districts	46,137			46,137
		Shannon Public School District No. 1	88,250			88,250
		Washabaugh Public School District	4,832			4,832
	Tribal	OEO/CAP				
		Head Start	19,746			19,746
		Home Management	1,174			1,174
	Private Social Services	Episcopal Mission Schools	1,200			1,200
		Holy Rosary Mission School	166,500			166,500
		Our Lady of Lourdes School	53,500			53,500
		SUBTOTALS	$2,166,568	$1,393,847	-	$3,560,415

TABLE VII: Public and Private Social Service Expenditures by Function (FY 1966/67)--Continued

Function	Agency	Program	Appropriation	Grant	Loan	Total
Law and Order	Interior/BIA	Law and Order Branch	$166,000			166,000
	Tribal	Court, Jail, and Honor Farm	87,303			87,303
		SUBTOTALS	$253,303	-	-	$253,303
Administration	Interior/BIA	Plant Management Branch--Operations and Maintenance	$564,800			$564,800
	OEO/CAP	Administration		$ 93,371		93,371
	Tribal	General Administration	184,742			184,742
		Assessment Account	15,603			15,603
		OEO/CAP Administration	6,226			6,226
		SUBTOTALS	$771,371	$ 93,371	-	$ 864,742
Housing	HUD	Cohen Memorial Home/OST Housing Authority--Turnkey and Middle-Income Housing			$1,650,000	$1,650,000
		Mutual Help		$550,000		550,000
	Interior/BIA	Branch of Housing Development Home Improvement Program	$ 65,687			65,687
	OEO/CAP	Home Improvement Program		102,578		102,578
		SUBTOTALS	$65,678	$652,578	$1,650,000	$2,368,265

TABLE VII: Public and Private Social Service Expenditures by Function (FY 1966/67)--Continued

Function	Agency	Program	Appropriation	Grant	Loan	Total
Roads	Interior/BIA	Division of Roads	$532,816			$532,816
	South Dakota Department of Highways	District 4	164,871			164,871
		District 5B	166,626			166,626
		SUBTOTALS	$864,313	-	-	$864,313
Land Management	USDA/ASCS	Administration, Commodity Credit, Conservation, and Product Adjustment.	$ 22,100	$386,900	$273,950	$ 628,950
	Interior/BIA	Land Operations Branch Forestry, Fire, Outdoor Recreation, Soil, and and Range Management	167,242			167,242
		Real Property Management	88,000			88,000
	University of South Dakota	University Extension Service		9,000		9,000
	Tribal	Land Acquisition	199,000			199,000
		Soil Conservation	13,848			13,848
	Private Social Services	4-H Club	1,000			1,000
		SUBTOTALS	$411,190	$395,900	$273,950	$1,081,040

TABLE VII: Public and Private Social Service Expenditures by Function (FY 1966/67)--Continued

Function	Agency	Program	Appropriation	Grant	Loan	Total
Economic Development	Commerce/EDA	Industrial Park Division		$ 43,000		$ 43,000
	Interior/BIA	Reservation Program Branch	$ 14,000			14,000
		OST Credit Board			$ 90,000	90,000
	OEO/CAP	Community Development		60,860		60,860
		Oglala Sioux Ranger Corps		109,505		109,505
	SBA	Loans			130,500	130,500
	Tribal	OEO/CAP				
		Community Development	1,622			1,622
		Ranger Corps	3,284			3,284
	Private Social Services	Missouri Synod/Lutheran Church	1,500			1,500
		SUBTOTALS	$ 20,406	$213,365	$220,500	$454,271
Employment	Interior/BIA	Employment Assistance Branch	$ 48,238			$ 48,238
	Labor					
	BAT	Manpower Training	$147,006			147,006
	BWP	Neighborhood Youth Corps		$246,120		246,120

TABLE VII: Public and Private Social Service Expenditures by Function (FY 1966/67)--Continued

Function	Agency	Program	Appropriation	Grant	Loan	Total
	HEW	Vocational Rehabilitation Grants to Dept. Public Instruction	$ 12,000			$ 12,000
	South Dakota Dept. Public Instruction	Division of Vocational Educ.	9,676			9,676
		Division of Vocational Rehab.	4,000			4,000
		Employment Security	22,000			22,000
		SUBTOTALS	$ 242,920	$246,120	-	$ 489,040
Health	HEW/PHS	Mental Health, Contract Medical Care, Field Health, Hospital, Sanitorium, and Sanitation	$1,644,610			$1,644,610
		Mobile Clinic at Univ. of South Dakota		$ 2,000		2,000
	OEO/CAP	Community Health Aides		112,982		112,982
	South Dakota State	Department of Health		2,000		2,000
		University Mobile Speech and Hearing Clinic		6,000		6,000
	Tribal	OEO/CAP --Community Health Aides	4,286			4,286
		SUBTOTALS	$1,648,896	$122,982	-	$1,771,878

TABLE VII: Public and Private Social Service Expenditures by Function (FY 1966/67)--Continued

Function	Agency	Program	Appropriation	Grant	Loan	Total
Transfer Payments	HEW	Social Security		$ 308,000		$ 308,000
		Categorical Assistance to Counties		147,343		147,343
		Bennett, Washabaugh, and Jackson				
		Shannon		382,657		382,657
		BIA General Assistance		243,000		243,000
	Interior/BIA	Social Services Branch Social Services, blind and deaf aid, child welfare, group care contract, monies accounts, institutional care contract, miscellaneous welfare	$140,380			140,380
		Surplus Commodities		302,000		302,000
		Payments		343,000		343,000
	South Dakota Dept. of Public Welfare	Bennett, Washabaugh, and Jackson		66,197		66,197
		Shannon	44,749	171,919		216,668
	Tribal	Surplus Commodities	26,733			26,733
	Private Social Services	Christian Children's Fund	36,000			36,000
		Episcopal Used Clothing	42,500			42,500
		Unemployment Compensation		114,242		114,242
		SUBTOTALS	$290,362	$2,078,358	-	$2,368,720

TABLE VII: Public and Private Social Service Expenditures by Function (FY 1966/67)--Continued

Function	Agency	Program	Appropriation	Grant	Loan	Total
Other	Interior	Geological Survey	$ 35,000			$ 35,000
	OEO	Vista	110,000			110,000
	University of South Dakota	Commission of Indian Affairs	4,000			4,000
		Indian Community Action Project		$ 41,000		41,000
	Tribal	Sun Dance	5,000			5,000
	Private Social Services	Billy Mills Hall	10,000			10,000
		Boy and Girl Scouts	3,000			3,000
		Pine Ridge Lions	1,200			1,200
		Pine Ridge Utilities Commission	24,000			24,000
		SUBTOTALS	$ 192,200	$ 41,000	-	$ 233,200
		TOTALS	$6,915,216	$5,249,521	$2,144,450	$14,309,187

TABLE VIII: Federal Social Service Expenditures by Source, Type, and Amount (FY 1966/67)

Department or Agency	Appropriation	Grant	Loan	Total
Agriculture	$ 22,100	$ 386,900	$ 273,950	$ 682,950
Commerce/EDA	-	43,000	-	43,000
HEW	1,656,610	2,018,927	-	3,675,537
HUD	-	-	1,650,000	1,650,000
Interior/BIA	3,560,610	972,130	90,000	4,622,598
Labor	147,006	246,120	-	393,126
OEO	110,000	809,736	-	919,736
SBA	-	-	130,500	130,500
VA	-	343,000	-	343,000
TOTALS	$5,496,184	$4,819,813	$2,144,450	$12,460,447

TABLE IX: Federal Social Service Expenditures and Percent Distribution (FY 1966/67)

Department or Agency	Appropriation	Grant	Loan	Total
Agriculture	.4%	8.0%	12.8%	5.5%
Commerce/EDA	-	.9	-	0.3
HEW	30.1	41.9	-	29.5
HUD	-	-	76.9	13.2
Interior/BIA	64.8	20.2	4.2	37.1
Labor	2.7	5.1	-	3.2
OEO	2.0	16.8	-	7.4
SBA	-	-	6.1	1.0
VA	-	7.1	-	2.8
TOTALS	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Present fractionation of direction between these two major agencies is costly in terms of coordination and the effectiveness of the delivery of services. However, so long as the basic service strategy remains intact on the Reservation, the sense of alienation will increase and the indices of social disorganization will become the more pressing. Mere institutional mechanisms to insure that the Tribal Council and the Bureau or Public Health Service meet more frequently will not correct the present deficiencies of the service strategy system, although it appears necessary to retain this system essentially intact in order to insure the social and administrative continuity to which the Oglala Sioux have become accustomed. Moreover, even the Tribal Council cannot insure a response and range of choices which an operative market place could insure for each Oglala Sioux with the money to demand truly responsive services.

This suggests that an income strategy ought to gradually supplant the present service strategy generally employed on the Reservation. The expense would not be great, especially relative to the present level of federal funding on the Reservation. Approximately 550 Oglala Sioux households suffer annual incomes under $1,000. Assuming that an annual income of $3,500 will be required to meet the reasonable threshold needs of these typically large Oglala Sioux households, a total of $1,925,000 would be required to insure that each such household enjoyed at least this reasonable threshold of existence. However, it can be reasonably assumed that these 550 lowest income households do receive at least some income, and that this income might average approximately $750 per household per year, or a total of $412,000. Accordingly, only $1,513,000 would be required to lift these lowest income Oglala Sioux households out of poverty and into a reasonable position in the private market place of goods and services.

In addition, approximately 625 Oglala Sioux households suffer annual incomes under $3,000, but over $1,000. Still assuming that an annual income of $3,500 will be required to meet the reasonable threshold needs of these also typically large Oglala Sioux households, a total of $2,180,000 would be required to insure that each such household enjoyed at least this reasonable threshold of existence. However, similar to the assumption of an average existing income among households in the lowest income group, it seems reasonable to assume that the 625 households, which presently suffer annual incomes in the $1,000 to $3,000 range, actually average approximately $2,000 per household per year, or a total of $1,250,000. Accordingly, only $930,000 would be required to lift these low-income Oglala Sioux households out of poverty and into a reasonable position in the private market place of goods and services.

It seems clear that a total additional annual expenditure of only $2,443,000 would be sufficient to effect a significant change in life on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation and -- at the same time -- inject a new and responsive strategy into its social structure. In a sense, the result of such an income strategy would be one of making institutional services somehow less relevant. The introduction of a system having its roots in individual choice and private trade-offs could effect -- over time -- an enormous amelioration in the quality of Reservation life for the Oglala Sioux. Whether effected under cover of a massive and variegated public works or tourism development program, or within the context of a program which directly confronts the issue of a minimum guaranteed annual income, it seems clear that the acceptance of a basic income strategy to eventually supplant the present service strategy cannot but ameliorate the quality of life among the Oglala Sioux and -- in so doing -- impel them into the mainstream of America. The cost of such a program would be only 18.7 percent of the total cost of all federal programs now operating on the Reservation and only 16.3 percent of the total cost of all public, including federal, and private social service programs now designed to improve the lives of the Oglala Sioux. Moreover, this basic income strategy would permit the Oglala Sioux to retain the best of their culture, on an individual basis, while making their private peace with mainstream America.

PINE RIDGE RESEARCH BULLETIN

PHS COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM
PINE RIDGE, SOUTH DAKOTA

Bulletin Number 1 January 1968

WHY A RESEARCH BULLETIN?

Research has been a vital part of the Community Mental Health Program since its inception. The rationale being that one cannot improve the mental health of a people unless one is cognizant of their problems and the possible etiology of these problems. Also implicit is the necessity of a baseline for the measurement of change on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Much of the information about the Pine Ridge population remains in the realm of speculation: often being based on hearsay evidence. For this reason, it was felt that objective studies were required in order to pinpoint with greater accuracy the demography and major problem areas. Consequently, the Baseline Data Study was initiated in September of 1967. This reservationwide survey of Indians and Non-Indians is now approximately 80% complete and the Indian sample (8,000) is now extensive enough to be able to define and correlate some of the more pertinent characteristics of the Indian population. The primary purpose of the bulletin is to disseminate to interested agencies and individuals the preliminary and final results of the Baseline Data Study.

Besides the Baseline Data Study, other research vital to mental health is being carried out by the staff. These include a study of normal high school students and research on attempted suicides, gas sniffing, the accident process and child neglect. The results of these research projects will also be included in the Research Bulletin

It is hoped that the results or at least a summary of the results of research pertaining to Pine Ridge and being undertaken by others (outside of the Mental Health Staff) can be recorded in the Bulletin so that there will be a central source for the transmission of research concerning Pine Ridge and that this in turn, will stimulate research.

BASELINE DATA STUDY - PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDIAN POPULATION

Sex and Age Groups

Our preliminary findings show that the Pine Ridge Reservation Indian population to be almost equally divided between males and females, with the females having a slight edge: 50.3% of the population.

The males have a small majority (50.4%) only in the population under 20 years of age. In the 20-44 age groups, females comprise 51.7% of the population and in the 45 and over age group 50.4% of the population.

The distribution of the population in age groups indicates the extreme youthfulness of the population. The large proportion of children means an excessively heavy burden for those in the productive years and points out the need of planning for the education, training and job placement of many young people in the near future.

Almost half of the Indian population (49.6%) is under 16 years of age, 58.5% is under 20 and 65.1% under 25.

To emphasize the youthfulness of the population, let us compare the statistics on age with the U. S. population. 54.6% of the Indian population is under 18 years of age in comparison to 35.5% of the White population and 44.7% of the Negro population. The median age for the Indian population is approximately 16.1 and this compares to 29.3 for the White population and 21.6 for the Negro population.[1]

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[1] U. S. statistics from Bureau of Census 1965. The median age for Mixed Bloods is approximately 14.2 and for Full Bloods 18.2

There is quite a sharp decline in the population between the 15-19 age group and the 20-24 age group and this probably reflects the permanent or temporary emigration of the young people upon completion of school on the reservation. Only 5.9% of the population is 65 years of age and over.

Ethnic Composition

Mixed Blood Oglalas comprise 48.7%, Full Blood Oglalas 45.6% and Indians from other tribes 5.6% of the total Indian population. Mixed Blood Indians are in the majority (52.4%). The Baseline Data Study shows a higher percentage of Full Bloods (47.6%) than previous estimates and this is because self-identification is the criterion being used to determine Mixed Blood - Full Blood status rather than the rather dubious one of blood quantum. Actually 6.6% of the Full Blood sample population[2] consider themselves to be Full Bloods although they are less than 8/8 Indian blood.

As one would anticipate, the percentage of Mixed Bloods increases in the younger age groups, so that one finds the Full Bloods in the majority in the 30 years and older age group, but in the minority in the under 30 age group. In the under 5 years age group, Mixed Bloods comprise 59.3% of the Indian population in comparison to 45.4% in the 65 and over age group.

Marital Status

Almost half (48.4%) of the population 14 years and older is married and living with their respective spouse. The percentage of single females (32%) and males (40.4%), however, is above the national rate: 20.4% and 25.9% respectively for the White population and 23.0% and 31.9% respectively for the Negro population.

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[2] Sample population refers to the adults who answered the complete questionnaire.

The percentage of divorced women (5.8%) is over twice that of the U. S. White population (2.8%) and higher than that for Negro women (4.1%). The percentage of divorced Indian men (4.1%) is also higher than the general White (2.1%) and Negro (3.1%) population. The percentage of divorced women is slightly higher among Mixed Bloods than Full Bloods: 6.3% and 5.3% respectively: but among the men, there is little difference between Mixed Bloods and Full Bloods.

Separation statistics reveal that a higher percentage (4.0%) of Indian spouses are absent than among the U. S. White population (2.6%) but the rate is much lower than among the U. S. Negro population (11.2%). The proportion of Indian males who are separated from their wives is the same as for the White males (2.3%). Of course, it should be pointed out that statistics on divorce and separation on Pine Ridge are not accurate. Some individuals claim to be divorced who are really separated and couples often have "an off again on again" relationship of periodic separations.

The rates of widowhood are interesting in comparison to U. S. Census data. Like the national population, more women than men are widowed, but a higher percentage of Indian men (4.1%) are widowers than among the Whites (3.2%) and Negroes (3.9%). On the other hand a lower percentage of Indian women (8.8%) are widows than among the White (12.4%) and Negro (13.4%) population. Either the death rate is higher among Indian women or else Indian women are more likely to remarry.

Educational Levels

The educational level for the Indian population of Pine Ridge Reservation is as follows:

Persons 25 Years Old and Over -
Years of School Completed by Ethnic Group (1968)
And Compared to U.S. White and Non-White Population (1960)

Percentage Distribution

Years of School Completed

ETHNIC	Elementary School			High School		College		Median School Years Completed
GROUP	Less than 5 years	5 - 7 years	8 years	1 - 3 years	4 years	1 - 3 years	4 years or more	
Total Indian N=2525	8.5	24.4	21.1	25.3	15.5	3.9	1.3	8.8
Mixed Blood N=1177	4.5	14.5	19.7	29.7	22.9	6.7	2.0	10.2
Full Blood N=1348	12.1	33.0	22.3	21.5	9.0	1.4	.7	8.3
U. S. White	6.7	12.8	18.1	19.3	25.8	9.3	8.1	10.9
U. S. Non-White	23.5	23.4	12.8	18.7	13.8	4.4	3.5	8.2

In general, the educational level of Pine Ridge Indians is lower than that of the general White population, but the educational level of the Mixed Bloods is considerably higher than that of the general Nonwhite population.

More Indians have completed elementary school (67.0%) than the general Nonwhite population (53.2%). In fact a slightly higher proportion of Mixed Bloods (81.0%) have completed grammar school than among the U.S. White population (80.6%).

In completion of high school, both Mixed Blood (31.6%) and Full Blood Indians (11.1%) fall below the White population (43.2%), but a higher percentage of Mixed Blood Indians than the general Nonwhite population (21.7%) have completed high school. On the other hand, the proportion of Full Blood Indians (11.1%) who have completed high school is less than either the White and Nonwhite U. S. population.

Approximately the same pattern is evident in regard to having completed some college. The percentage of Mixed Bloods (6.7%) who have some college education is lower than that of the U. S. White population (9.3%), but higher than the U. S. Nonwhite population (4.4%). The proportion of Full Bloods (1.4%) is considerably lower than both Whites and Nonwhites. The Indian population who have completed college (2.0%) is, however, less than either the White (8.1%) or Nonwhite (3.5%) U. S. population.

The median school years completed of the Indian population (8.8) is below that of the U. S. White population (10.9) but above that of the general Nonwhite population (8.2). The Mixed Blood Indians have a much higher median school years completed (10.2) than the U. S. Nonwhite population (8.2).

In contrasting educational levels with age groups, one finds that the educational level is rising steadily and quite rapidly. For example, the percentage of Indians 65 years and older who have less than 5 years of schooling is 23.3% in contrast to .8% in the 25-29 age group. High school graduates are increasing: from 2.8% in the 65 and over age group to 28.3% in the 25-29 age group.

Employment Status

Among the Indian population 14 years and older, 30.8% is employed, 14.5% unemployed, 20.4% in school, 24.7% keeping house, 4.2% disabled and 5.5% retired.

Considering only the labor force, we find that 49.8% is employed full-time, 18.2% is employed part-time, and 32% is unemployed.

Among the male labor force, 47.0% is employed full-time, 19.9% employed part-time and 33.1% is unemployed. This is a much higher unemployment rate than among either the total U. S. male labor force (3.8% as of March 1966) or the U. S. Nonwhite male labor force (7.9% as of March 1966). The unemployment rate of male Mixed Bloods is 27.8% and male Full Bloods 38.3%.

The rate of unemployment among the female labor force on the Reservation is 29.6% in comparison to 4.4% in the general U. S. population and U. S. Nonwhite population (7.4%).

This high rate of unemployment among the Indian population reflects mainly the lack of job opportunities on the Pine Ridge Reservation. It should be noted, however, that there is a high rate of part-time employment and a number of those unemployed at the time of being interviewed, work at seasonal labor either outside or on the Reservation. The problem is thus one not only of unemployment but underemployment as well.

Religious Affiliation

The adult sample population shows the following percentages for the three predominate formal religions on the Reservation: Catholic (44.1%), Episcopal (36.4%) and Presbyterian (8.3%). The majority of the Mixed Blood sample is Catholic (57.7%) while the most prevalent religion among the Full Blood sample is Episcopalian (46.8%).

Other religions claiming over .5% of the adult sample population are : Body of Christ (1.9%), Native American Church (.8%), and Mormon (.7%).

Household and Family Organization

The most prevalent type of family is the complete nuclear family comprised of a couple or a couple plus their children (58.4%). Incomplete nuclear families make up 31.6% with 29.8% of the matrifocal and 3.8% of the patrifocal type. 7.7% are one person families and 1.3% are atypical families not consisting of nuclear families: i.e., woman with grandchildren, two siblings, etc. A higher percentage of Full Blood families (61.9%) than Mixed Blood families (55.2%) are of the complete nuclear type. A higher percentage of patrifocal incomplete nuclear families is found among the Full Bloods (5.5%) than among the Mixed Bloods (.4%). However, a higher percentage of Mixed Blood Indians (69.9%) than Full Blood Indians (64.6%) are a part of a complete nuclear family. The average family size is approximately 4.4.

There is a great diversity of household types among the Indian population. In spite of this, the most prevalent type is the complete nuclear family (39.7%) living alone. The next most prevalent is a mixture of complete and incomplete nuclear families (14.9%); then in order of frequency: one incomplete nuclear family (11.7%), a person living alone (9.7%), one complete nuclear family plus additional relative(s) (9.5%), a mixture of complete and incomplete nuclear families plus additional relative(s) (3.6%), one incomplete nuclear family, plus additional relative(s) (3.4%), other type (2.5%), two or more complete nuclear families (2.1%), two or more incomplete nuclear families (1.6%), two or more incomplete nuclear families plus additional relative(s) (.7%) and two or more complete nuclear families plus additional relative(s) (.6%).

The one complete nuclear family household is more prevalent among Mixed Bloods (45.7%) than Full Bloods (33.9%). Also a higher percentage of Full Blood households have additional relatives attached to the household who are not part of the nuclear unit.

The average size of the Indian household is 5.6 persons, the average size household in the U. S. is 3.3 (1965). The Mixed Blood household is larger (6.1) than the Full Blood household (5.2).

The majority of both male (54.4%) and female (62.2%) household heads are 45 years of age or older. Only 5.3% of the male and 5.8% of the female household heads are under 25 years of age. 25.8% of the household heads are female: 25.4% of the Mixed Blood households and 26.1% of the Full Blood households.

PARENTAL PRESENCE AMONG INDIAN CHILDREN, PINE RIDGE RESERVATION

Introduction

One of the indicators of the extent of family disorganization or instability is the number of children living in households in which one or both parents are missing. This, admittedly, is an American middle class standard and perhaps does not apply entirely to the Indians of the Pine Ridge Reservation. Even considering cultural differences, lack of parental presence may, however, affect a child adversely: giving rise to feelings of rejection or deprivation. Certainly this often means that economic responsibility for the child must be assumed by government agencies or the child's relatives.[1]

Among 3,970 Indians under the age of sixteen, 65% are living with both biological parents. Although we have no comparable statistics for the general population, the fact that 35% are not living with both parents constitutes a problem for the Indian families who must care for the child and for the social welfare agencies.

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[1] This constitutes about 80% of the 0-15 age group.

Of those children not living with both parents, 23.6% are living with the mother only, 3.1% with the father only and 8.3% with neither parent. Almost 32% are living in households in which the biological father is not present.

Parental Presence and Age Groups

One of the suppositions often heard on the Pine Ridge Reservation is that family disorganization is increasing and in consequence, one would find that a higher percentage of children in the younger age groups would not be living with both parents.

This supposition, however, is not borne out by the facts. 71% of the children under 5 years of age are living with both parents in comparison to 65% of the 5-9 age group and 59% of the 10-15 age group. Furthermore, the differences between age groups are statistically significant. The child under 5 is more likely to be living with both parents than is the child 5 through 9 years old and the latter is more likely to be living with both parents than is the child from 10 to 15 years old. In other words, the older child is less likely to be living with both parents than is the younger child.

In regard to family disorganization, the fact that a higher percentage of younger children is living with both parents, does not prove that family disorganization is decreasing. Only a comparison at different time periods would indicate this. It may be that couples with younger children are more likely to remain together and that as a child grows older, he may be more likely to lose one or both parents in his household of residence. This also cannot be verified without a time comparison. Furthermore, there is a possibility that a few Indian children living with neither parent may live with other relatives, i.e. grandparents, as a matter of preference or convenience and are not psychologically separated from their biological parents.

Parental Presence and Ethnic Group

When parental presence is compared to a child being considered Mixed Blood or Full Blood, one finds that 67.4% of the Mixed Blood children are living with both parents in comparison to 61.7% of the Full Blood children and the difference is statistically significant. Furthermore, the Full Blood child is slightly more likely than the Mixed Blood child to be living with neither parent.[2] Although a much higher percentage of both groups live with the mother only rather than the father only, an outstanding difference is the greater liklihood of a Full Blood than a Mixed Blood child to be living with the father only - 4.9% of the Full Bloods and 1.7% of the Mixed Bloods. This may indicate that upon the separation of a Full Blood couple, a child is more likely than in the case of the separation of a Mixed Blood couple to remain with the father. On the other hand, it may mean that there are more desertions and/or deaths of Full Blood mothers.

When one considers age groups and ethnic groups, there is no difference in parental presence among the under 5 age group. It is only in the older age group that ethnic differences in parental presence occur. Thus the Full Blood child under five years of age is just as likely as the Mixed Blood child to be living with both parents. Among both groups, parental presence declines in the older age groups, but at a greater degree among Full Bloods. 70.5% of Full Blood children under 5 are living with both parents. This decreases to 60.5% in the 5-9 age group and to 55% in the 10-15 age group. 45% of Full Blood children in the 10-15 age group are not living with both parents. Among Mixed Blood children, 71% in the under 5 age group are living with both parents, 67.6% in the 5-9 age group and 63.2% in the 10-15 age group.

One can interpret these facts in a number of ways. Either family disorganization is decreasing among Full Bloods or Mixed Blood couples tend to remain together longer than Full Blood couples. Neither of these interpretations can be verified by the available data.

Parental Presence and District of Residence

In comparing district of residence with parental presence, one finds that parental presence is highest in Pass Creek district and lowest in LaCreek district. The percentage of children living with both parents in the various districts is as follows: Pass Creek 71.4%, White Clay 68.1%, Wakpamni 66%, Eagle Nest 65.4%, Medicine Root 64.4%, Porcupine 63.4%, Wounded Knee 60.9%, LaCreek 60.1%.

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[2] Difference is significant at only .05 level.

The Pass Creek child is more likely than is the LaCreek and Wounded Knee child to be living with both parents,[3] and slightly more likely than the Porcupine child to be living with both parents. The White Clay child is slightly more likely than is the LaCreek or Wounded Knee child to be living with both parents.

One may postulate that the ethnic group factor is influencing district differences, but this is not the case as LaCreek is mainly Mixed Blood and White Clay has a majority of Full Bloods.

Parental Presence and Overage Academically

The factor of being overage[4] for one's grade was compared to parental presence. It was found that 25% of the children are overage for their grade and that among those who are overage, 57.6% are living with both parents. The difference between the groups is slightly significant statistically (.05 level) so that one can say there is a possibility that the child not living with both parents is more likely to be overage for his grade than is the child living with both parents.

Children With Neither Parent and Household Head

Among those children living with neither parent, the majority (56.6%) are living with a grandparent. This is more true of Mixed Blood than Full Blood children. In fact, the Mixed Blood child who is living with neither parent is more likely than the Full Blood child to be living with a grandparent.

25.6% of the children are living in foster homes and there is no significant difference between ethnic groups in this regard. 14.8% are living with aunts or uncles, and the remainder with a variety of relatives.

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[3] Differences: Pass Creek and LaCreek - $\chi^2 = 6.84 < .01$
Pass Creek and Wounded Knee - $\chi^2 = 7.24 < .01$
Pass Creek and Porcupine - $\chi^2 = 4.46 < .05$
White Clay and LaCreek - $\chi^2 = 4.07 < .05$
White Clay and Wounded Knee - $\chi^2 = 4.26 < .05$

[4] A child was considered to be overage if for example, a child of 6 was not in kindergarten or first grade, a child of 7 not yet in first or second grade, etc.

Summary

35% of Indian children under 16 years of age are not living with both biological parents. The older the child, the greater the liklihood that he or she is not living with both parents. The Mixed Blood child between the ages of 5 and 15 is more likely than is the Full Blood child to be living with both parents.

The LaCreek and Wounded Knee child is less likely than the Pass Creek and White Clay child to be living with both parents and this difference is not due to ethnic group affiliation.

IS THE LAKOTA LANGUAGE BEING LOST?

The language status of respondents[1] was calculated on a five point scale ranging from English only to Lakota only. The highest percentage of Indians falls in the middle or bilingual category (67.4%) and the lowest in the five or Lakota only category (.4%) 17.5% speaks English only, 8.4% understands Lakota and speaks a little Lakota, 67.4% speaks both English and Lakota, 6.4% understands and speaks a little English and .4% speaks only Lakota. The entire population in general is more English than Lakota oriented, but almost three-quarters speaks Lakota.

Household language was also determined on a five point scale and the percentage for each category is as follows: English only (33.1%), mostly English (9.3%) English and Lakota equally (43.4%), mostly Lakota (9.2%), and Lakota only (4.9%). The overall pattern of household language is similar to that of individual language, but English only or Lakota only is spoken in a larger percentage of households than English only and Lakota only is spoken by individuals. In other words, some Indians speak Lakota (or English) who do not speak it in their households.

The Language pattern is closely related to ethnic group. Only .8% of the Full Blood Indians do not speak at least some Lakota in comparison to 35.1% of the Mixed Bloods. English only is spoken in 61.6% of Mixed Blood households and in only 6.3% of the Full Blood households. Mostly Lakota or Lakota only is spoken in 3.2% of the Mixed Blood households and in 14.1% of the Full Blood households. The modal language pattern in Full Blood households is to speak both English and Lakota

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1. Adult sample - 1385 individuals, all Oglala Sioux.

about equally (61.7%) and in Mixed Blood households to speak English only (61.1%). In summary, it is rare to find a Full Blood Indian who does not speak some Lakota (.8%) and even rarer to find a Mixed Blood Indian who does not speak some English (.1%).

The language pattern is also related to age. Mixed Blood and Full Blood respondents were divided into under 30 years and over 30 years of age. Among all Indians under 30, 49.2% speak Lakota in comparison to 61.1% over 30 years old. The difference, however, is largely among Mixed Bloods: only 28.7% under 30 can speak Lakota in comparison to 55.0% over 30. The difference between Full Bloods in the two age groups is only 9.5%. One can thus conclude that the use of the Lakota language is declining, but only slightly among Full Bloods, but rapidly among Mixed Bloods. In fact, the Mixed Blood over 30 years of age is much more likely than is the Mixed Blood under 30 years to speak Lakota and the difference is highly significant statistically.[2]

Language also depends on geographical area to a certain extent. For example, the use of Lakota is more predominant in the Pass Creek District than in other districts. The majority of Pass Creek residents are Mixed Bloods (51.3%) and yet only 5.3% of the adult sample does not speak at least some Lakota. Among Porcupine District adults, only 9.2% cannot speak at least some Lakota. This district is predominately Full Blood, but 76.5% of the Mixed Blood speak Lakota. This may be a matter of conforming to the general language pattern of the area. As one would expect Lakota is spoken least in LaCreek District which has largely a Mixed Blood population and is located in a predominately White area.

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2. $\chi^2 = 32.7 < .001$

SUICIDE AND SELF-DESTRUCTIVE BEHAVIOR IN THE OGLALA SIOUX
SOME CLINICAL ASPECTS AND COMMUNITY APPROACHES

First, we would like to suggest some questions to ask in thinking about suicide and self-destructive behavior in American Indian tribes and then tell you some information we have obtained on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

We need to ask what and how big is the problem and what are the characteristics of the people involved. How does suicide and suicide attempts differ and how is it similar when comparing the Reservation with the problem in the U.S. as a whole? Is it possible that on the Reservation suicides and suicide attemps more often involve another person as the agent, for example, in terms of getting oneself into a situation where one is beaten up or involved in an auto accident? Are suicide attempts on the Reservation more often a combination of homicide and suicide?

What is the constellation of factors necessary but not sufficient to account for suicides and suicide attempts? For example, in general, what are the cultural norms for dealing with aggression? What are the attitudes and beliefs about dying, about self-inflicted deaths and toward self-destructive acts? Are there any general themes in the meanings of the precipitating events?

On the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, aggressive feelings are usually dealt with indirectly (unless of course, alcohol is involved) usually through gossip or avoidance. A review of the charts of the first 40 consecutive patients seen by the Psychiatrist in our Community Mental Health Program indicates that the most common defenses that the patients used to deal with aggression were denial, depression and the use of somatic complaints. In general, aggression is turned inwards among these patients. In looking at these patients' dreams and early memories we found 55% of the dreams and early memories dealt with problems around dependence-independence, that 40% dealt with problems of aggression, and only 5% dealt with problems related to sexuality.[7] Interestingly, of the dreams and early memories related to aggression, 68% dealt with themes of being hurt, either by others or by oneself.

Now let us review our Community Mental Health Program statistics regarding suicide and suicide attempts during the fiscal year July 1966 through June 1967. There were no successful suicides reported as such but we have no idea how often cars were used, for example, to suicide. There were 25 suicide attempts seen, including here 5 threats adjudged to be significant. Using a population base of 10,000 (estimated) this gives an attempted suicide rate of 250/1000,000, or somewhat more than twice the rate reported by Schneidman and Farberow in Los Angeles.

The following figures are all related to suicide attempts, and this will show the information which is recorded for every recognized suicide attempt at Pine Ridge.

1. Age: 96% were under 40
   68% were under 29
   36% were 19 or less

2. Sex: 80% were women and 20% were men.
   (This more or less corresponds with the national statistics of 7 women for every 3 men).

3. Marital Status: 60% were single and 36% married. (This probably reflects the young age of many attempters.)

4. Blood Quantum: 37% were Full Bloods and 62% were Mixed Bloods. (The percentage in the whole population is Full Bloods - 48%, Mixed Bloods - 52%).

5.

Severity:	%	Number
Mild	68	17
Moderate	24	6
Severe	8	2

There was no significant relationship between severity and sex or age.

6.

Method:	Number	%
Hanging	2	7
Overdose	14	53
Wrist cutting	5	19
Thoughts	5	19

7. Previous contacts with PHS Hospital in 26 attempts

	Number	%
1 day previous	5	19
1 week previous (or 2-7 days)	4	15
	Total	34% seen within one week of attempt

8.

Previous attempts:	Number	%
No	15	68
Yes	7	31

9. Most common precipitating stresses:

	Number	%
a. felt rejection by an important person	13	52
b. interference in family by relatives moving in	4	16
c. psychotic	3	12
d. other	5	20

10. Diagnosis - ranged through all possible diagnoses
Neurotic - 52% (depressive reaction - 40%)
Psychotic - 16%
Character Disorder - 16%
No psychiatric diagnosis - 16%

11. Dynamics:
The most frequent dynamics involved the disruption of a close hostile-dependent to symbiotic relationship with resultant extreme feelings of helplessness and anger which is turned inwards.

12. Intent of suicide attempt

	Number	%
a. to change an important relationship	13	52
b. to die	4	16
c. to get out of situation	5	20
d. other	3	12

On the Pine Ridge Reservation then, the modal patient who attempts suicide is most likely to have the following characteristics. It will be a young woman, under 29 and quite likely under 19 who is single and a Mixed Blood. The suicide attempt is mild, and most likely accomplished by taking an overdose of medication. There is one chance in three that the patient has made a previous attempt and also that the patient has made some cry for help at the PHS Hospital within one week of the attempt. This is usually a clinic visit to a physician. Diagnostically the patient will have a neurosis. The attempt will probably be precipitated by a felt rejection by an important, meaningful person to the patient, who probably was involved in an intense hostile-dependent or symbiotic relationship with this other person. The suicide attempt is then used, usually, to reestablish the old relationship.

Now let us review the information recorded about a suicide attempt or suicide by the Community Mental Health Program. First, most suicide attempts reported to the hospital or coming into the emergency room are referred to us. As we are spending more staff time in outlying communities, we are also discovering

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more suicide attempts where the person does not come to any hospital for treatment, and we are recording these. Each suicide attemptor is seen by a member of the Mental Health Program staff, and the following information is obtained and recorded:

1. Age
2. Sex
3. Residence - does the person live in an isolated house or is the home in a rural cluster or village. We began gathering this information in the current fiscal year.
4. Marital Status
5. Blood Quantum
6. Precipitating stress
7. Method
8. Intent
9. How the person was found
10. Severity - Determined from the last three above
11. Previous contacts with the PHS Hospital - how long ago was the most recent contact?
12. Previous attempts - how many are known?
13. Psychiatric diagnosis - if the person was seen by the psychiatrist.
14. Dynamics
15. Treatment - Inpatient or outpatient, followed by whom, and so on.
16. A brief record of follow-up - after 3 months and after 6 months.

This information is gathered in a suicide register, which is kept in our office. The Register enables us to maintain statistics on frequency and characteristics of the recognized attempted and completed suicides, such as those which I have reviewed. We have statistics for fiscal year 1967 and are gathering statistics for 1968.

Earlier, we mentioned our speculation that suicide and self-destructive attempts may go unreported on the reservation because they occur as automobile accidents or as an individual's placing himself in a situation where he is likely to be beaten up. We would like to briefly sketch some of our attempts to investigate this problem before going on. Here, we get into questions such as to what extent are automobile accidents and other accidents consciously or unconsciously determined by the injured person and are the dynamics involved similar to those we see in attempted and/or successful suicides. Here, the observations of Hirschfeld[5] are useful: in studies of persons involved in industrial accidents he found that the individual had usually predicted the accident and that the dynamic involved was the conversion of an "unacceptable disability" into an "acceptable disability". Here, too, the fact that to be eligible for financial assistance an individual must be physically disabled, unless he or she is a mother with dependent children or over sixty-five, is important. Recently, at a case conference with Bureau of Indian Affairs and State Welfare workers and the Community Health Aides, about a multi-problem family, we asked the question "When did agencies try to work together to help this family?" The answer was: "Only when someone was injured or when there was child neglect or desertion." So one meaning of a self-destructive act, on our reservation, may be that this is what you do to get others (agencies) concerned about you, especially if you are an able-bodied man. We have to look at a whole continuum of self-destructive behavior: accidents, the T.B. patient who understands his disease, but refuses to accept treatment, some problem drinkers, and so on.

Our Medical Social Worker is currently looking into all accidents coming into the Emergency Room at the Pine Ridge Hospital over a six-month period in an effort to find out who has accidents, what are the common trends and get some clues for further research. At the same time, he is doing a psychological autopsy of an individual who died in a three-car auto accident in September - and is finding material which suggests that this dramatic accident which took three lives was at least a suicide and perhaps a combination of suicide and homicide.

Now let us discuss treatment. We will begin by describing our Community Mental Health Program briefly. The Program began in Fall 1965, with a psychiatric social worker and a mental health nurse consultant. At present, we have a psychiatrist, four social workers, an anthropologist, a social work aide and a research aide. We offer consultation to care-taking agencies on the reservation - school, police, OEO, Welfare, and so on - in addition to direct treatment, and we are beginning to work in community organization in several areas: program development, coordination of resources, and making services more responsive to local conditions and local groups. We are engaged in a wide range of activities and we hope to be able to demonstrate techniques which will be useful to other reservations and to health, welfare and mental health agencies in other non-urban areas. We work mostly with patients on a referral basis, with the referrals coming from the other caretaking agencies - increasingly, we are not assuming primary responsibilities for patients, but are sharing that responsibility with other agencies, both the referring agency and other agencies who come in as needed.

Especially with suicidal patients, a broad, community-wide approach is indicated, because of some of the peculiar treatment problems presented by this group.

Let us begin with the observation that the treatment approach will be determined by the needs of the individual patient - there is no general approach we have found to deal with the problems of self-destructive Indian people. However, some of the statistics I quoted and some of our experiences may suggest some generalizations about treatment which can be made for some of our patients:

1. With a high-risk patient hospitalization should certainly be considered - but the patient should not be asked his opinion. It is often important that the suicidal patient see the therapist as in control of the situation.
2. Most importantly, we must constantly keep in mind our own tendency to deny the suicidal intent of the patient, for example, our tendency to be misled by a previously depressed patient who appears more cheerful.
3. Since the suicidal patient is usually isolated, he needs a relationship which can be maintained through his crisis period. After the crisis is over, we need to enlist the aid of available, meaningful people-resources for the patient. Even when these are available, our approach to a seriously suicidal patient will strongly emphasize our wish and intent and concern that the patient live. We need to evaluate the intents of the people to whom the patient will return. For example, it would be foolhardy to return a patient still in suicidal crisis to a home where his spouse wished him dead.
4. Patients who are suicidal are often difficult patients. They leak out anger all over and in many ways. This indicates a need for the therapist to be aware of the negative feelings he may have about the patient. It also indicates a need for a back-up system to re-enforce the efforts of the family and what we call the "community helpers" and Dr. Dizmang* in his article on the Northern Cheyenne called the "gatekeepers" to help the patient.* This means regular, sustained consultation and mutual support for those who will be in closest contact with the patient.
5. Patients who are suicidal often need a wide variety of services. This requires a knowledge of available services on the part of those who are trying to help, and a service system which cooperates and is flexible enough to move quickly to meet the patient's needs.
6. Our data on previous contacts with PHS Hospital in suicide attempts indicated that many cries for help are probably not

*Dizmang, Bulletin of Suicidology, 1967

> heard. We need to be more aware of and make more of an effort to identify high risk people, such as: those with previous attempts; those who are clearly depressed; those, possibly, who begin to come to the hospital with more frequent complaining of pains that don't make "sense" to the physician; young women, especially, with very close ties to one person and few other resources. This indicates a need for a good listening system, widespread education, and, again, sustained contact with possible listeners, especially listeners close to the patient who has already made a suicide attempt.

One of the major problems we encounter is in translating urban models of programs to Indian Reservations, which can be characterized, negatively, by a lack of easy transportation, communication, and agency resouces; and positively, by the large number of relatives available to most individuals, and the importance of families, peer groups and community members. Most of the literature on suicide prevention centers (and on other crisis-oriented agencies and organizations, such as Alcoholics Anonymous) describes these programs as relying on technological resources, such as the telephone and mass transit, that are not available on most reservations, and on a good backup system of agencies and services: homemaker services, psychiatric services, family service agencies, halfway houses, day hospitals, ambulance service, and so on. The professional worker on a reservation, particularly if he has not worked in rural areas before, may find himself frustrated in his efforts to help patients for two reasons. First, patients may not come in regularly for appointments; and second, it will be difficult to find services needed by the patient, especially employment, housing, training, and sheltered situations, as are provided by halfway houses.

We shall discuss some possible ways of getting around these problems. Two major difficulties contribute to the frustration we face: first, a lack of coordination, of pulling together, among the various helpers who might be offering services to an individual, and a lack of knowledge on the part of the helpers of all the resources which might be appropriate to his case; second, a lack of continuity in our contacts - for example, in the case of a patient we might see once or twice following a crisis and then lose touch with because the patient does not keep appointments and then is not at home when we call on him. There are two areas we might look at now: first, how can we imporve coordination; and second, how can we improve continuity (and also get into case-finding - the identification of potentially self-destructive individuals).

Let us present a case history. This is a patient who was helped by mobilizing many community resources and by a worker's taking responsibility for coordinating community services. The patient is a woman in her early thirties, a widow, with six children and a drinking problem. She was arrested while on a drunk several months ago, and charged with intoxication and child neglect. Her welfare worker had previously threatened her with loss of her children if she continued to drink. However, he suggested to the tribal prosecutor that she be given a second chance, under controlled conditions; she would be required to seek treatment from the Community Mental Health Program, and she would accept help from homemaker aides (an OEO program). She came to the Mental Health Program and we suggested a treatment period of Antabuse which she was interested in and accepted. We also involved her mother who had a drinking problem in Antabuse treatment. The welfare worker involved the homemaker aides in helping her be more effective in keeping house, and the welfare worker and the tribal prosecutor together attempted to involve her and her mother in an Alcoholics Anonymous group. After five months, the lady has remained sober, and we are now working on employment.

What does this story illustrate? First, the welfare worker took the trouble to organize and coordinate community resources for the patient's needs as he saw them. Second, there was continuity in terms of weekly contact with the patient by a helping person. Interestingly, the contact was not made by the welfare worker or by the Mental Health Program, but by the homemaker aides and by the weekly AA group, although the other resources were available to her when she wanted to use them. While this story is not unique, it is used because it illustrates an approach aimed at bringing many resources to bear on a patient while at the same time providing sustained contact with the patient by a helping person. We can think about scheduling case conferences periodically in the communities where people live together with other helpers: the welfare workers, homemakers, public health nurses, community health aides, and so on; and with the community "gatekeepers", the people others turn to at the time of a crisis - clergy, VISTA volunteers, community leaders, Yuwipi (medicine men) and so on. There would be two purposes for such a program: case finding and case planning. That is, the case conferences would be set up to locate for the helpers the people in the community who are in need of help, to determine what help they need and to plan who in the group will do what. A refinement of this idea is the Community Service Center concept which would bring together all of the helping people in the community at a central location, i.e., near the post office, where they can be available to community people and to other helping people. This would also facilitate the growth of local community groups - perhaps volunteer workers, perhaps groups to consider community problems and act on them. When we get involved with this kind of local community case conference, we also get involved with people in new careers positions, usually paid by the local OEO. These are community health aides, homemakers aides, community development aides, and so on. We will say a few words about new careerists and then make a suggestion about new aide positions.

In our work in the isolated communities on the reservation, we have found the aides to be valuable co-workers. They usually are in the community five days a week, which means they often will know a great deal about the people we are working with and will be able to tell us of others who may need service. The aides are also able to provide much needed continuity in patient contacts, whether on a daily or a weekly basis. Much of what the aide is able to do depends on the training the aides have received, and their supervision, in determining how far it is possible to go, and how willing the aides will be to explore new approaches to the treatment of troubled people.

In the Community Mental Health Program, we have at present two aide positions. One, the Social Work Aide, assists the Hospital Social Worker as a case aide; the other is a research assistant to our anthropologist. In addition, we are involved with a number of interested community groups in exploring the establishment of an alcoholism program involving the hiring of new careerists who will work with alcoholics. Possibly, these people will function as mental health aides, community-based, who will see many people involved in various kinds of self-destructive behavior and play a major role in organizing and coordinating the services used by them in providing conttinuity and also in watching for danger signals. Again, training and supervision are important here, as well as an adequate back-up program. This involves providing both services for patients and, more important, consultation and in-service training for the aides. This brings us to the problem of whether to go in the direction of new program development of strengthening what we have already, or both. We have not resolved this yet, although ultimately it seems to us, community agencies will need sustained, on-going back-up services through such mechanisms as the case conference and on-going consultation services in order to deal with the suicide problem (or self-destructive behavior problem). So the really basic work which needs to be done is in finding ways to spread some of our thinking on suicide as broadly as we can to a large system of community helpers, and to increase the number of helpers and make them people who matter in the day-to-day lives of our patients.

We do not need to dwell on the problems of getting more cooperation or more community involvement, since these problems are universal. On our reservation, everyone is extremely busy and under a great deal of pressure, and time for coordinating, for education, or for just being together, is hard to come by. Also, roles are so well defined that often it is hard to see where each of us fits in in a collaborative venture of helping a patient which looks at the patients' needs, but not the agency's role or function. However, we have made a start at Pine Ridge, most significantly, in holding our meetings in the communities where people live, not in the agency town, and in involving more helpers than the usual group of professional workers.

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ACCIDENT INVESTIGATION THROUGH REVIEW IN LITERATURE, A REVIEW OF HOSPITAL RECORDS, AND A CASE STUDY

(Summary of Preliminary Findings)

An investigation into accidents was spurred by the tragic death on 9-15-67 of a Pine Ridge resident. A brief review of the literature has revealed that the most applicable findings in accident studies have come from Dr. Behan and Hirschfeld in Detroit regarding the accident process as a theory of unacceptable disability leading to an accident resulting in an acceptable disability. Also, very significant in this field, we find there has been an article by Tabachnick et al., regarding the similarities and differences between the suicidal personality and the accident personality.

Significant differences between an accident prone or accident person and the suicidal person are:

1. 2/3 of the people in accidents are contemplating an increase in responsibility or have acutally moved into a position of responsibility.
2. People involved in accidents are constantly being nagged or bludgeoned about a major tension in their lives.
3. The people involved in accidents are rather distantly integrated with the significant others in their lives.

Pursuing it further in a break-down of 40 cases in the hospital, we have found that there seems to be a distinction between the type of person who is involved in minor accidents both in the home, at work and on the highways and the person who is killed in an automobile accident. Another observation coming from this was that the person who is constantly injured in a series of accidents has been seen in the hospital for some concrete reason, whereas, the person who is killed in an accident has been into the hospital but only with a vague unknown reason. Another observation coming out of this study has been that the person involved in the fatal accident has not been involved in a series of minor accidents leading to the terminal incident. Whereas, in looking through histories of other people who are involved in accidents, they may have no near fatal accidents. However, they may have been involved in a number of accidents dating back into early childhood.;

The case study involved in this preliminary investigation of accidents revealed that the personality of the person causing the accident had the following characteristics;

1. He was under stress of physical disability in the form of tuberculosis.
2. He was involved in a marriage relationship which was apparently not satisfactory.
3. The victim had recently moved into a position of more family responsibility with the birth of a child two weeks prior to his death.
4. On the day of the death, there was a reception by the victim of a Welfare check. This particular person placed a great deal of value on work and good performance.
5. Within the last several months, the victim had been told by the medical staff that he was unable to work due to his tuberculosis.
6. The victim had been verbally abused and accused of bringing grief upon the entire family by parental figures because of the tuberculosis.

In addition to the above reasons, there was evidence in the case history, that the patient had recently exhibited increased motor and verbal activity in relating to family and friends, and in addition to the foregoing characteristics, there was the element of alcohol usage involved in this accident.

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Clinical Social Worker

AMBIVALENCE TOWARD EDUCATION AMONG INDIAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS*

A recent comparative study of Oglala Sioux and White high school students reveals that one of the major sources of stress among the Indian students is a high degree of ambivalence toward education. On one hand, the Indian students express a high regard for education and yet many are underachievers scholastically and worry about being able to complete their education.

Let us consider the Indian students' attitudes concerning school. All of the students interviewed said that they expected to finish high school and over one-half expressed a desire for higher education. On being asked what was "the worst thing a teenager could do," 26% of the Indian students stated that to leave school was the worst thing. The best thing a teenager could do according to 52% of the Indians and 24% of the Whites would be to stay in school. This implies, we believe, that the Indian teenager has some fear of not completing school and feels that it would be bad not to do so.

In asking about important worries or fears, 46% of the Indian students' worries centered around education, scholastic grades, completing homework and not finishing high school. The most important and happiest events of their lives were more likely among Indians than Whites to have been graduation from grammar school or being the object of a scholastic honor. Anger was attributed to scholastic failure more among Indian students. Also, more Indians than White students listed among their wishes a desire for a good education.

Among Indian students who felt that Indians have greater problems than other people, the highest percentage (30%) responded that the reason for this was a lack of education.

The above responses indicate a concern about getting an education and a positive attitude about the value of education by the Indian students. That is not to say that the Non-Indian students do not value education to an equal degree. It is probable that they are less concerned because they take education more for granted and envision fewer obstacles in the attainment of their educational aspirations.

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* Based on data taken from a preliminary report of the Community Mental Health Program entitled " A Sociological and Psychological Study of Oglala Sioux and Non-Indian High School Students," 1967 and from other relevant research. This is the first of a series of three articles concerned with the sources of stress among Indian high school students.

Concern with education and the high value placed on education are, however, not reflected in the academic performance of the Indian students: 50% are underachievers and a high percentage will drop out of high school. In fact, a couple of the Indian students who had stated that they intended to complete high school had already become dropouts two months after being interviewed.

On a national level, during the 1963 school year, dropouts averaged 23% of the school population as compared with a dropout rate for Indian students of about 60%.[5] A study of the South Dakota secondary school (i.e., grades 9 - 12) dropout population in 1963-64[6] showed that 59% of Indian dropouts occur in the 9th grade compared with 20% for Non-Indians. Whereas, with the 10th grade, the percentage drops to 21% for Indians compared to 29% for the Non-Indians. 13% of Indian dropouts are in the 11th grade and 7% in the 12th compared to 26% and 22% respectively for the Non-Indians in the 11th and 12th grades. On the Pine Ridge Reservation there appears to be two dropout peaks, one at the end of 8th grade and before entering the high school boarding school and the second during the 9th grade. In a comparison of 8th grade students who subsequently dropped out of school with those who continued, it was found[7] that 57% of dropouts are boys compared with 48% in the school population. Also, 67% of dropouts are from country districts as compared to the 50% from the country districts in the school population. With regard to their ages, dropouts tended to be older at entrance to the 9th grade (64% were 16 or over) compared to those who remained (81% were 15 or under). There was a difference in their Iowa Test of Educational Development scores. The mean score for the dropouts was in the 28th percentile and for those who remained, in the 42nd percentile.

Why this discrepancy between verbally expressed attitudes and actual performance? The Indian student is at least verbally interested in education. Why then are so many failing scholastically and leaving school? Learning depends on a number of factors including intelligence and sensory endowment; the capacity to sustain attention, inhibit one's impulses, postpone gratification and tolerate frustrations; and, also motivation to learn. It is a common observation that the Sioux student goes through a golden age of achievement between grades 4 and 6 where he exceeds the national norms on the California Achievement Tests. At about grades 7 and 8 his achievement level steadily drops below the national norms.[1]

We believe that an important factor in the poor scholastic achievement and high dropout rates is motivation. There appears to be a number of elements which interfere with learning motivation. Some of these (not necessarily in the order of importance) include: feelings of inadequacy and powerlessness, of lack of hope that the future will be worthwhile; lack of parental involvement in the educational system; a strong (if often ambivalent) tie to the family and reservation which makes separation experiences (if going to boarding school) difficult; and a strong leveling influence of the peer group. There are also a variety of assorted factors such as age (42% are overage for their grade), reading underachievement, lack of techniques for getting along with a large group of strange people, shame over some felt weakness such as poor clothing and feelings that many Non-Indian teachers don't like Indians. We will briefly discuss some of the above.

One of the most striking themes in talking with Indian teenagers is their feeling of inadequacy and powerlessness. This is in contrast to feelings of omnipotentiality in other adolescents.[3] Their aspirations are generally low and they have little knowledge about how to achieve those aspirations. Many seem to feel that vis-à-vis a White person they as Indians are second rate. Spilka and Bryde[5] have been studying the relationship between school achievement and alienation (including the elements of powerlessness, normlessness, meaninglessness, social isolation and self-estrangement). Their data shows strong associations between lowered achievement and feelings of powerlessness and social isolation. They point out that it is not clear whether low achievement leads to feelings of powerlessness or social isolation or the other way around, but postulate a circular pattern of such influences.

Although school personnel on the Reservation differ in their opinions, many feel that it is difficult if not impossible to involve the Indian people in the schools. (This opinion is shared by most government workers who have attempted to work closely with the people in providing services.) On the other hand, many Indian parents feel that they should be involved with the schools only at times when there is some crisis involving their child, and moreover that once the child is in day school or boarding school, he is the school's responsibility. Even the Tribal Court goes along with this view of the school, using the boarding school as a kind of detention-home and treatment center for kids who are behaving in some antisocial way and whose parents complain they can't control the child. This latter use of the boarding school pretends as if there are personnel and facilities to work with kids who may be and often are disturbed, while in reality no such personnel or faciltiies exist.

In talking with 8th grade students about their parents' aspirations for the students' education we find that many have no idea about what their parents' hopes are. An interesting finding related to this is from the BIA - OEO Demonstration School at Rough Rock where the community has complete power through the School Board and the community, probably as a result is very involved with their children's schooling. The general achievement levels of the children at Rough Rock is higher than at surrounding schools where parents are not as involved.[4]

Although expressing a desire to emigrate, the student may actually be afraid to leave the security of family ties and that of the reservation system itself. In fact the attainment of a high educational level often necessitates severing ties with the Reservation in order to obtain higher education and employment commensurate with educational attainment. Parents and other close relatives realize this and some, therefore, discourage continuance of education beyond the legal requirements. In spite of the personalistic orientation of Indian society, family obligations among the more traditional are considered more important than individual independence and achievement.

Many are the examples of Indians who have prevented the continuance of education of relatives or summoned them back to the Reservation in times of crises or to care for or provide companionship to a relative. To illustrate this, let us record the comments of an Indian woman about education: "I want my children to get a good education. I had to leave school in the tenth grade because my aunt had tuberculosis. She should have gone to Sioux San, but my grandparents wanted her with them so I had to drop out of school to take care of her. I know of a woman here who was a widow and her boy was really smart but she wouldn't let him go to high school. I tried to talk with her but she said he didn't need an education - she could take care of him - she got enough money from her leases. She said she didn't have long to live and wanted her children with her and it wasn't my business or the business of the school what her boy did. You know that boy is still in his twenties and is still not working and his wife left him because he wouldn't work."

Besides the family, the subsistence security of the reservation system makes leaving the Reservation a fearful experience for some young people and acts as a magnet to draw emigrants back when life becomes difficult in the outside world. As one high school boy said, "If I don't make it outside, I can always come back. At least I know I won't starve to death here because of the commodities."

If the young person remains on the Reservation, there are few jobs available and even fewer of a stimulating nature. One does not need a high school education to work in a fishhook factory or as a ranchhand. Along with the advent of the poverty programs, more interesting employment became available, but this has not, in general, fostered educational achievement. Many of the positions do not require a high school education and may, in some cases encourage dropouts. As an example, an Indian teacher aide said that she was trying to persuade a sixth grade boy of the importance of learning his multiplication table which he should have mastered in the fourth grade. She told the boy that he'd never get a good job without an education and would end up digging ditches. He told her he didn't see any reason to learn the multiplication table - he was only going to finish eighth grade and didn't have to worry because he could work for the National Youth Corps. Incidentally, the Tribal Law is not conducive to the completion of high school. According to the Law, an Indian may legally quit upon reaching sixteen years of age or after having finished the eighth grade.

In order to stimulate learning motivation we suggest:

1. Decreasing the emphasis in Indian schooling on helping the Indian student get into the mainstream of American life. This philosophy so often seems to lack positive concrete meanings and tends to the negative direction mainly to deemphasize Indianness. There are several interesting experiments going on in Indian education in this area, namely at the Rough Rock School in Rough Rock, Arizona and in Father John Bryde's course on "How To Be A Modern Indian" at the Holy Rosary Mission in Pine Ridge.
2. More research is needed on the relation of parental involvement and power in the educational system and the child's scholastic achievement. At the present time available evidence indicates a positive correlation so that parent involvement should be seen not just as something nice to do to increase communication between teachers and parents but as having a direct relation to the child's achievement.
3. Since the dropout peak occurs between the 8th and 9th grades and after moving to the boarding school during the 9th grade we suggest an orientation program for the 8th graders going to the boarding school of at least a year in duration, beginning at the start of the 8th grade and involving trips from the districts to the school and staying at the school. This should include both prospective students and parents and be followed by discussions of their experiences. This experience should be on-going throughout the 8th grade year.

To help the student through his initial separation experiences from home, a system of Big Brothers and Big Sisters could be set up. Here 12th graders could be given responsibility for introducing the incoming 9th graders to school life. The 12th grader should know the 9th grader he is to work with before they get to school. This also would be an on-going experience for the 9th grader.

4. Adult education needs to be emphasized. Here we are thinking especially of meeting the needs of those who wish to pass their High School Equivalency tests after having previously dropped out and for others to move up the educational ladder.

5. Efforts should be made to involve Neighborhood Youth Corps dropouts and non-dropouts in social service jobs rather than menial, unproductive, bottom of the ladder jobs that no one else wants and which only help to increase ones sense of inadequacy rather than opening up one's potential.

6. The Tribal Council should be encouraged to change the Law so that it would be obligatory for Indian students to remain in school until they have been graduated from high school or are eithteen years of age.

Carl Mindell, M.D., Director
Eileen Maynard, PhD., Anthropologist

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PINE RIDGE RESEARCH BULLETIN

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
DIVISION OF INDIAN HEALTH
COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM
PINE RIDGE, SOUTH DAKOTA

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PHS/Pine Ridge Service Unit

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Bulletin Number 2 April 1968

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDIAN POPULATION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL*

GENERAL SOCIAL CHARACTERISITCS

Educational Levels

Does the social background of the high school graduate differ markedly from the person who has completed some high school or has no high school education? Put another way, what groups of Indians are most likely to have completed high school? In this section, our objective is to compare educational levels with a number of social characteristics. In this way, we hope to determine the extent of social differences among persons with varying degrees of schooling and thus be able to describe the general characteristics of Indians on each educational level.

For this purpose, all Indians 25 years of age and older were divided into three education categories. The high education category includes those who are high school graduates and/or have attended college. The middle education category consists of persons who have completed one to three years of high school and the low education category, those with an eighth grade education or less.

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*Statistics taken from the Baseline Data Study which is approximatel 85% complete.

Before beginning the comparison, let us present a revised table of educational levels of Pine Ridge Reservation Indian groups as compared with the general U.S. White and Negro population.

Persons 25 years Old and Over -
Years of School Completed by Ethnic Group (1968)
And Compared to U.S. White and Negro Population (1965)
(Preliminary Data)

Percentage Distribution

Years of School Completed

ETHNIC	Elementary School			High School		College		Median School Year
GROUP	Less than 5 years	5 - 7 years	8 years	1 - 3 years	4 years	1 - 3 years	4 years or more	Completed
Total Indian N=2793	7.7	25.0	21.2	25.7	15.4	3.8	1.3	8.8
Mixed Blood N=1279	4.1	15.1	19.5	30.0	22.8	6.5	1.9	10.1
Full Blood N=1514	10.7	33.4	22.5	22.2	9.2	1.3	.7	8.2
U.S. White	5.5	9.8	15.9	17.6	32.1	9.3	9.9	12.0
U.S. Negro	13.2	19.9	12.4	22.2	17.7	4.7	4.7	9.0

The median school years completed by the Indian population (8.8) falls considerably below U.S. White population (12.0) and slightly below that of the U.S. Negro population (9.0). The Indian population also falls considerably below the two national populations in regard to the percentage who have completed high school: 20.5% of the Pine Ridge Indian population, 27.1% U. S. Negro and 50.7% U.S. White.

In comparing Mixed Blood with Full Blood Indians, one finds that the educational level of Mixed Bloods is significantly higher than that of Full Bloods. Mixed Bloods have a higher percentage of high school graduates (31.3%) than the U.S. Negro population (27.1%), but a lower percentage of college graduates. It is the

Full Bloods who fall below both the general White and Negro populations on nearly all levels of educational attainment. Although the median school years completed among the Full Bloods (8.2) is the same as among the U.S. Negro population (8.2), the Negro population has a higher percentage of grammar school (61.7%) and high school graduates (27.1%) than the Full Blood Indians: 55.9% and 11.2% respectively.

In dividing the two ethnic groups into the three education categories, one finds that 31.3% of the Mixed Bloods fall into the high education category, 30% in the middle and 38.8% in the low education category. Among Full Bloods, 11.2% are in the high education category, 22.2% in the middle education category and 71.6% in the low education category.

It is obvious that the differences in educational levels between the two groups are highly significant (< .001). The differences are more highly significant in the high and low categories and slightly less so in the middle category. One can conclude that high school graduates are more likely to be Mixed Bloods than Full Bloods.

When one considers age differences, one finds that among Indians in the middle education level who are under 45 years of age, approximately half are Mixed Bloods and half Full Bloods. In the 45 years and over age groups, however, a majority of those in the middle education category are Mixed Bloods.

Sex and Age

The distribution of males in the three education categories is as follows: high 21%, middle 25.1%, and low 53.8%; and for females: high 20%, middle 26.3% and low 53.8%. Although 1% more of the males than females are high school graduates, there is no significant difference in educational levels between males and females.

In comparing the variables of sex and ethnic group with educational levels, one finds that the Mixed Blood female has attained the highest educational level: 32.4% are high school graduates in comparison to 30.2% of the Mixed Blood males. Although more Mixed Blood females (7.8%) than males (5.5%) have completed some college, more males (2.2%) than females (1.6%) are college graduates. It seems that among the Mixed Bloods, more females enter college but more males complete college. At least this is true of the college trained Mixed Bloods who live on the Reservation.

Among the Full Bloods, it is the male who has the highest educational level: 13% are high school graduates in comparison to 9.7% of the Full Blood females. Only 1.3% of the Full Blood females have completed some college or are college graduates compared to 2.8% of the Full Blood males.

As stated in the previous Bulletin, the educational level is rising so that, in general, the younger the person, the greater the likelihood that he or she has completed high school or some high school. Following is a table of educational levels by age group:

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY AGE GROUP
Persons 25 and over

% Distribution

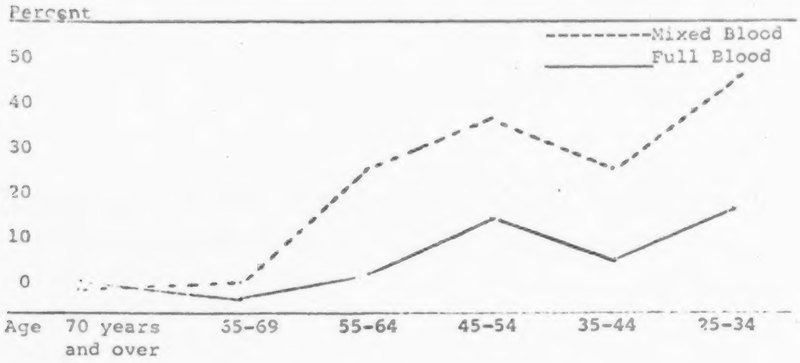
Age Group	Educational Level		
	8th Grade or less	1 - 3 years of high school	High School or more
25-29 years	30.6	33.6	35.7
30-34 years	40.9	27.8	31.2
35-44 years	49.6	33.1	17.3
45-54 years	46.9	30.1	23.0
55-64 years	72.3	14.2	13.5
65-69 years	90.8	5.8	3.5
70 years and older	87.3	9.2	3.6

N=2811

You will notice that the modal educational level changes from the low education category for those 30 years and older to the high education category for persons under 30 years. The percentage of high school graduates has steadily increased with the exception of the 35-44 age group where there is a decline. A possible explanation is that more persons may have dropped out of school because of World War II to enter the armed forces or work in defense plants. It is interesting to note that among the total high school graduates, 47.2% are under 35 years of age.

An increase in educational level is also true of Mixed Bloods and Full Bloods although the rate of increase is higher among the Mixed Bloods.

PERCENTAGE OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES BY AGE AND ETHNIC GROUP



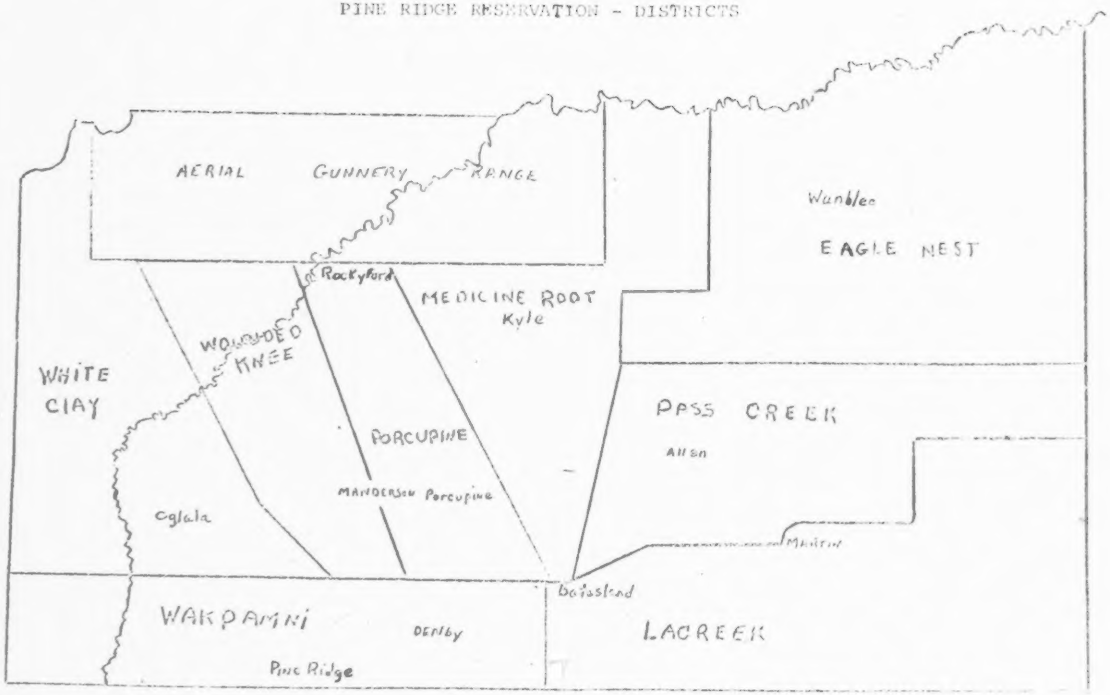
District of Residence

The educational levels vary considerably among the districts. The percentage of high school graduates for each district is as follows:

HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES BY DISTRICT
Persons 25 and over

District	% of High School Graduates
LaCreek	29.9
Wakpamni	29.8
Eagle Nest	18.1
Medicine Root	14.9
Wounded Knee	14.6
Pass Creek	11.9
Porcupine	10.9
White Clay	10.2

PINE RIDGE RESERVATION - DISTRICTS


AERIAL GUNNERY RANGE
Wanblee
EAGLE NEST
Rockyford
MEDICINE ROOT
Kyle
WHITE CLAY
WOUNDED KNEE
PORCUPINE
MANDERSON Porcupine
Oglala
PASS CREEK
Allen
Martin
Batesland
WAKPAMNI
Denby
Pine Ridge
LACREEK

The educational level of LaCreek and Wakpamni districts is significantly higher than the other districts ($< .001$). In fact, of the total high school graduates, 61.2% live in Wakpamni or LaCreek districts. One can thus conclude that highschool graduates are more likely to be residing in these two districts than in the other districts.

It is interesting to note that the two districts with the highest percentage of high school graduates are the only districts that have high schools. Also, they are the districts with the highest employment rates and the highest percentage of Mixed Bloods.

However, a significantly higher percentage of Full Bloods in Wakpamni and LaCreek districts are high school graduates than Full Bloods in the other districts ($< .001$). In consequence, the district of residence, regardless of ethnic group, is an important factor in educational level.

Village-Rural Residence

The data on location of residence reveals that as the educational level increases so does the likelihood of living within a village rather than in a rural cluster or in an isolated dwelling in the country ($< .001$). Among persons in the high education category, 64.7% live in a village and 35.3% in a more rural environment. In the middle education category 50.4% live in a village and 49.6% in the country. Among persons in the low education category, 40.7% are village dwellers and 59.3% rural dwellers.

The correlation between educational level and location of residence also applies to the two ethnic groups. Both Full Bloods[1] and Mixed Bloods[1] in the high education category are more likely to be living in a village than out in the country.

As regards age groups, a majority of Indians under 45 years of age in the high and middle categories live in a village; whereas among Indians 45 and older, only a majority in the high education category live in a village. The person in the middle education category is as likely to be living in a rural environment as in a village.

Marital Status

When the education categories are compared to marital status, one finds that the higher the educational level, the greater is the likelihood that a person will be married and living with his or her spouse ($< .001$). In the low education category, 64.2% are married; in the middle category 71.9% and in the high category 76.3%.

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1. $\chi^2 = 24.12 < .001$. Full Bloods
$\chi^2 = 21.86 < .001$. Mixed Bloods

Among Full Blood Indians, 63.4% in the low education category are married, 68% in the middle education category and 80% in the high education category. Consequently, one can say that Full Bloods with a high school education are more likely to be married than those who are not high school graduates.[2]

The same pattern is also evident among Mixed Bloods, but to a lesser degree. Of those in the low education category, 65.8% are married; in the middle category 74.6% and in the high category 74.8%. Among Mixed Bloods, the person with high school education or from one to three years of high school is more likely to be married than the person with an education of eighth grade or less.[3]

The age of the person does not alter the pattern. In the low education category, however, a higher percentage of Indians under 45 years of age (72.6%) than over 45 years of age (65.2%) are married

Among Full Bloods, 10.5% in the high education category are divorced or separated in comparison to 15.1% in the middle category and 12.1% in the low category. The opposite is true of the Mixed Bloods, 15.3% in the high education category are divorced or separated contrasted to 13.1% in the middle category and 10.1% in the low category. Thus among Full Bloods, a higher percentage of those with less than a high school education are either separated or divorced. Among Mixed Bloods, a lower percentage of those with less than a high school education, are separated or divorced.

The likelihood of being widowed decreases as educational level increases, because the lower education levels are found more among older persons : 14.2% in the low education category, 6.1% in the middle category and 2.3% in the high category.

Type of Family Membership

There is a relationship between type of family membership and educational level. The higher the educational level, the greater is the likelihood of being a member of a complete nuclear family ($< .001$). Among Indians in the low education category 67.0% are members of a complete nuclear family; 75.1% in the middle category and 80.4% in the high category are members of a complete nuclear family. Put another way, among persons who are members of a complete nuclear family, 22.7% are high school graduates in contrast to 15.9% who are members of an incomplete nuclear family, 15.3% who are living alone and 8.2% who are members of another type of family that is not of the nuclear type. Approximately the same pattern is evident among both Mixed Bloods and Full Bloods.

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2. $\chi^2 = 19.05 < .001$ df2.
3. $\chi^2 =$ df2 11.56 $< .01$.

Again, the same pattern is evident regardless of age group. In the low education category, however, a higher percentage (72.6%) of those under 45 years of age are living in a complete nuclear family than those over 45 years (65.2%).

Parental Presence During Childhood

Among Indians who are high school graduates, 75.4% stated that they had lived most of their childhood with both parents. This is in contrast to 67.5% in the middle category and 68.4% in the low category who had lived most of their childhood with both parents. Consequently, one can say that the person in the high education category is more likely to have lived most of his childhood with both parents than a person in the middle and low education categories.[4]

When we contrast educational level and parental presence among Mixed Bloods, the same pattern holds, but is less significant than among the total Indian population.[5] Among Mixed Bloods, 78.8% of those with a high school education lived most of their childhood with both parents in contrast to 60.1% in the middle category and 75.2% in the low category.

Although a slightly higher percentage (67.3%) of Full Bloods in the high education category than in the middle (65.7%) and low education (64.7%) categories lived most of their childhood with both parents, the difference is not statistically significant. One can thus say that among Full Bloods there is no relationship between educational level and parental presence.

Language

Highly significant statistically are the differences in language patterns in the three educational levels. Among respondents from the sample population[6], the higher the educational category the less is the likelihood of being bilingual ($< .001$). The language pattern for persons in the high education category is as follows: 54.4% speak only English or speak a little Lakota, 45.1% are bilingual and .4% speak Lakota and a little English. Among those in the middle education category, 29.2% speak only English or speak a little Lakota, 67.6% are bilingual and 3.2% speak Lakota and a little English. In the low education category, 10.4% speak only English or speak a little Lakota, 78.3% are bilingual, 10.7% speak Lakota and a little English and .6% speak only Lakota.

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[4] $\chi^2 = 11.18 < .001.$

[5] $\chi^2 = 5.73 < .02$

[6] 1315 persons 25 years and older who answered the questionnaire. Each respondent represents one household.

Considering the language categories, one finds that within the English only category, 46.4% are high school graduates. Percentage of high school graduates in the other language categories are: speaks a little Lakota 40.7%, bilingual 12.9%, speaks Lakota and a little English 1.1%.

Virtually the same pattern is evident in regard to household language. The majority of respondents in the high education category (74%) speak English or mostly English in their households. English only or mostly English is spoken in 46% of the households of those in the middle education category and in 23.3% of the households of persons in the low education category.

Within the household language categories, the percentage of high school graduates is as follows: English only 40.0%, mostly English 27.9%, English and Lakota equally 10.3%, mostly Lakota 4.3% and Lakota only 1.5%.

It is wise to point out, however, that the variable of ethnic group membership is affecting the relationship between language and educational level. A majority of Full Bloods in all three education categories are bilingual and there is little difference between education categories in this regard. Among Mixed Bloods, the pattern varies, the majority of Mixed Bloods in the low education category are bilingual; whereas the majority in the middle and high categories speak English only or speak a little Lakota. Thus, among Full Bloods, educational level and language are not related, but among Mixed Bloods, the higher the educational level the less is the likelihood of being bilingual.

One would expect age to be a significant factor in regard to language: a higher percentage of Indians over 44 years of age than under 45 years of age are bilingual. A lower percentage of Indians in the high education category who are in the younger age group are bilingual (35.8%) than in the older age group (61.9%). A majority of those in the other education categories and in both age groups are bilingual. The pattern, however, of an increase in educational level as bilinguality decreases also applies within each age group, but this again is more a matter of ethnic group membership because in both age groups, a majority of those in the high education category are Mixed Bloods.

Approximately the same pattern is present as regards household language. Here again one finds the same differences between Full Bloods and Mixed Bloods: household language is related to educational level only among Mixed Bloods. Also, English only or mostly English is more likely to be spoken in the household as educational level increases regardless of the age group, but the variable of ethnic group membership is affecting the differences.

Experience Outside of the Reservation

The higher the educational level, the greater is the likelihood that the respondent (sample population) has lived one year or more outside of the Pine Ridge Reservation. Among persons who have lived off the Reservation 33.6% are in the high education category compared to 8.0% who have not lived outside of the Pine Ridge Reservation. Within the high education category, 78.6% have lived off the Reservation; among those in the middle category 51.6% and among those in the low category 32.3%. The differences are highly significant statistically between the high and low educational categories and experience off the Reservation and the differences apply regardless of ethnic group and age group.

In the high education category, the most prevalent reasons for having lived outside of the Reservation are attending school, working and/or in the armed services. 13.7% in this category are originally from another Reservation or place. In the middle and low education categories, the highest percentage were living outside of the Reservation because of working, attending school[7] and/or in the armed services.

There are no striking differences between the respondents in the three educational categories concerning reasons for living off the Reservation, except that a higher percentage of persons in the high education category lived outside the Reservation because of attending school or because of being from another reservation.

Religious Affiliation

Among the three religious denominations most represented on the Pine Ridge Reservation, a slightly higher percentage of Catholics (22.5%) than Presbyterians (18.9%) and Episcopalians (16.0%) are high school graduates.[8] These differences, however, do not pertain within the Mixed Blood and Full Blood categories. Among Mixed Bloods, 33.3% of the Presbyterians are high school graduates, 28.7% of the Episcopalians and 28.7% of the Catholics. Among Full Bloods, 13.2% of the Presbyterians are high school graduates, 12.4% of the Catholics and 9.2% of the Episcopalians.

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[7] A number of respondents have attended grammar schools and high schools off the Reservation, i.e., Rapid City Indian School, Genoa, Flandreau, Haskell, Carlisle, St. Francis Mission (*Rosebud*) etc.

[8] Differences significant at $< .001$. χ^2 19.33 df4

In considering religious affiliation within the three education categories, the results show that among those in the high education category, 56.8% are Catholic, 34.4% Episcopalian and 8.8% Presbyterian. In the middle education category, 55.2% are Catholic, 36.4% Episcopalian and 8.4% Presbyterian. In the low education category, 43.4% are Catholic, 47.1% Episcopalian and 9.5% Presbyterian.

Summary - Social Characteristics By Educational Categories

As a summary, we present in table form a list of the social characteristics most commonly found in each of the three education categories. Remember that this is an abstraction and describes in very general terms the social characteristics of a majority of the Indians who fall into each educational level. There will, therefore be many exceptions.

GENERAL SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDIAN POPULATION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

(Persons 25 Years and Over)

Social Characteristics	Educational Level High (high school or less)	Middle (1-3 years of high school)	Low (8th grade or less)
Ethnic Group	Mixed Blood	Mixed Blood	Full Blood
Age Group	Under 45 years	Under 45 years	Over 44 years
Village-Rural	Village	Village or Rural	Rural
District	Wakpamni or LaCreek	Wakpamni or White Clay	Wakpamni, Medicine Root or Wounded Kne
Marital Status	Married	Married	Married
Family Type	Complete Nuclear	Complete Nuclear	Complete Nuclear
Parental Presence (during childhood)	Both parents	Both parents	Both parents
Individual Language	English only or some Lakota	Bilingual	Bilingual
Household Language	English only	English and Lakota equally or English only	English and Lakota equally
Lived off Reservation (1 year or more at one time)	Yes	Yes and No	No
Religion	Catholic	Catholic	Episcopal or Catholic

GENERAL SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF FULL BLOOD POPULATION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

(Persons 25 Years and Over)

	Educational Level		
Social Characteristics	High	Middle	Low
Age Group	Under 45	Under 45	Over 44
Village-Rural	Village	Rural	Rural
District	Wakpamni or Wounded Knee	Wakpamni or White Clay	Wakpamni, Wounded Knee or Medicine Root
Individual Language	Bilingual	Bilingual	Bilingual
Household Language	English and Lakota equally	English and Lakota equally	English and Lakota equally
Lived off Reservation	Yes	No	No
Religion	Episcopal or Catholic	Episcopal or Catholic	Episcopal

GENERAL SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MIXED BLOOD POPULATION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

(Persons 25 Years and Over)

	Educational Level		
Social Characteristic	High	Middle	Low
Age Group	Under 45	Under 45	Over 44
Village-Rural	Village	Village	Village
District	Wakpamni or LaCreek	Wakpamni, LaCreek or Medicine Root	Wakpamni or LaCreek
Individual Language	English only	English only or some Lakota	Bilingual
Household Language	English only	English only	English and Lakota equally or English only
Lived off Reservation	Yes	Yes	No
Religion	Catholic	Catholic	Catholic

GENERAL SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF 25-44 YEAR AGE GROUP BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

	Educational Level		
Social Characteristics	High	Middle	Low
Ethnic Group	Mixed Blood	Full Blood or Mixed Blood	Full Blood
Village-Rural	Village	Village	Rural
District of Residence	Wakpamni or LaCreek	Districts other than Wakpamni and LaCreek	Districts other than Wakpamni and LaCreek
Individual Language	English only or speaks some Lakota	Bilingual	Bilingual
Household Language	English only or mostly English	English and Lakota equally	English and Lakota equally
Lived off Reservation	Yes	No	No

GENERAL SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF 45 AND OVER AGE GROUP BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

	Educational Level		
Social Characteristics	High	Middle	Low
Ethnic Group	Mixed Blood	Mixed Blood	Full Blood
Village-Rural	Village	Rural or Village	Rural
District of Residence	Wakpamni or LaCreek	Wakpamni or LaCreek	Districts other than Wakpamni or LaCreek
Individual Language	Bilingual	Bilingual	Bilingual
Household Language	English only or mostly English	English and Lakota equally	English and Lakota equally
Lived off-Reservation	Yes	Yes	No

GENERAL ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Introduction

In this section, our purpose is to define the economic characteristics in relationship to educational levels. We hope in this way to determine what degree education is related to economic status which will in turn answer the question: are there sufficient economic rewards on the Pine Ridge Reservation to make the attainment of a high school education worthwhile? We realize that materialistic gain is only one of the rewards of education, but it is the most measurable one.

Employment Status

The employment rate of the labor force increases in relation to the educational level. In consequence, one can conclude that the higher the educational level, the greater is the likelihood of being employed. ($< .001$). Also underemployment (part-time employment) is higher among Indians in the middle and low education categories than among those in the high education category.

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF INDIAN LABOR FORCE BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL
(Persons 25 Years and Over)
Percentage Distribution

Educational Level	Employed Full Time	Employed Part Time	Unemployed
High (high school or more)	76.3	9.8	13.8
Middle (1-3 years high school)	52.4	20.7	26.9
Low (8th grade or less)	42.5	19.1	38.4

N=1476

The results show that from the viewpoint of employment, education does pay off. However, the disturbing fact remains that a high school education does not guarantee employment, 13.8% of high school graduates are unemployed

Among Mixed Bloods, a majority in each educational level is employed full time and employment increases with educational level from 70.8% in the low education category to 79.4% in the middle category and 87.9% in the high category. 12.1% of the high school graduates are unemployed. One can thus say that among Mixed Bloods, the higher the educational level, the greater the likelihood of being employed ($\chi^2 = 22.07 < .001$ df2).

Among Full Bloods, a majority are employed in each educational level, but only a majority of high school graduates are employed full time (72.3%). The employment rate rises even more significantly with educational level among Full Bloods: in the low educaction category, 56.5% are employed, in the middle category 65.1% and in the high category 82.3% ($\chi^2 = 29.35 < .001$ df2). The end result, however, reveals that 43.5% of the Full Blood labor force in the low education category is unemployed and that 17.7% of Full Blood high school graduates are unemployed.

In the age groups of under 45 years and 45 years and over, the employment rate also increases as educational level increases. For example, among Indians in the high education category who are under 45 years of age, 85.0% are employed in contrast to 59.6% in the low education category. Among those who are 45 years and over, 87.9% in the high education category are employed in comparison to 59.3% in the low education category. From the standpoint of age, the highest rate of employment is among those 45 years and older who have a high school education or better and the highest rate of unemployment (40.7%) is found among those 45 years and older who have an eighth grade education or less.

Occupational Status

We have seen that those with a high school education or more are more likely to be employed than those who are not high school graduates, but does a high school education provide assurance of a job above the lowest occupational status level? Using a modified version of Warner's seven point Revised Scale for Rating Occupation[9], one finds the following:

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF INDIAN SAMPLE POPULATION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL
(Persons 25 Years and Over)

Percentage Distribution

	Educational Level		
Occupational Status	High	Middle	Low
1. High	1.2	.7	0
2.	9.9	3.8	8.3
3.	9.9	6.8	4.5
4.	16.1	9.0	8.3
5.	41.0	23.3	11.4
6.	10.5	24.1	22.0
7. Low	11.2	32.3	45.5

N=426

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[9] Some examples of ratings are as follows: 1 rating - lawyers, engineers, doctors, etc., 2 rating - high school teachers, trained nurses, large farm owners, etc., 3 rating - grammar school teachers minor officials, etc., 4 rating - small businessmen, stenographers, foremen, small farm owners, etc., 5 rating - skilled workers, policemen, tenant farmers, etc., 6 rating - semi-skilled workers, nurses' aides, waitress, etc., 7 rating - unskilled workers, etc. Warner, Lloyd, Social Class in America, Harper and Row, N.Y., 1960. PP. 140-141.

Obviously, those with a high school education or more are more likely to have the more highly rated occupations, but here again, 11.2% of the high school graduates are working as ranchhands, factory workers, etc., and 10.6% have semi-skilled jobs. Most of the persons in the 2 and 3 ratings who have an eighth grade education or less are Mixed Blood ranchers who own and lease fairly large sections of land.

Sources of Employment

The sources of employment for the sample population according to educational level are as follows:

SOURCES OF EMPLOYMENT OF INDIAN SAMPLE
POPULATION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL
(Persons 25 Years and Over)
Percentage Distribution

	Educational Level		
Sources of Employment	High	Middle	Low
BIA	30.4	20.3	9.8
OEO	14.3	18.8	11.9
PHS	9.3	2.9	.7
County	4.4	2.2	1.4
State	2.5	.7	
Other Government	2.5	2.2	3.5
Tribe	8.1	3.6	7.0
Company	11.2	18.8	28.7
Person	8.7	16.7	18.2
Self	8.7	13.8	18.9

N=442

The federal, state and county government agencies absorb 63.4% of the high school graduates in the working force, 46.4% of those in the middle education level and 27.3% of those in the low education category. One can say that the higher the educational level the greater is the likelihood that a person will be working for the government. ($<$.001).

The majority of persons with an education of eighth grade or less are working for a company, an individual or are self-employed. The majority of those in the middle and high education categories are working for the BIA, the OEO or for a company.

Economic Status of Households

Although there is a question of the accuracy of reported income, the respondents' estimates of the total income in their respective households provides some measure of economic status. When economic status of households is compared to educational level, the results are as follows:

ECONOMIC STATUS OF INDIAN POPULATION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

(Persons 25 Years and Over)
Percentage Distribution

	Educational Level		
Economic Status (Household)	High	Middle	Low
Very High ($10,000 - over)	18.0	6.3	1.9
High ($7,000 - 9,999)	14.7	4.4	1.7
Above Average ($6,000 - 6,999)	11.1	5.1	2.1
Average ($4,000 - 5,999)	17.6	12.3	5.8
Below Average ($3,000 - 3,999)	8.9	10.4	7.9
Low ($1,000 - 2,999)	19.3	33.7	39.1
Very Low (under $1,000)	10.4	27.8	41.5

Although there is no completely consistent pattern so that one can say that income rises in direct relationship to an increase in educational level, the results show that a significantly higher percentage of those in the low education category (88.5%) and middle education category (71.9%) than in the high education category (38.6%) live in households in which the annual income is under $4,000. The majority of Indians in the high education category (61.4%) have incomes which are average or above. However, 38.6% have incomes under $4,000.

Type of Income

The type of income of an individual varies considerably with the educational level. Among Indians, (sample population) in the low education category 12.0% have income that is completely earned in comparison to 22.2% of those in the middle education category and 44.4% in the high education category. The patterns for those receiving both earned and unearned income[10] is: 29.0% of those in the low education category, 31.5% in the middle category and 35.5% in the high category.

Among Indians in the low education category over half (50.5%) have completely unearned income, in the middle education category 32.7% and in the high category 15.3%. Individuals (mostly housewives) who have no personal income comprise 8.4% of those in the low education category, 13.5% of persons in the middle category and 16.9% of those in the high category.

Almost half (49.2%) of Mixed Bloods in the high education category have an income that is completely earned in contrast to 32.9% of the Full Bloods in this category. 45.1% of the Mixed Bloods and 53.9% of the Full Bloods in the low education category have incomes that are completely unearned. As we shall see, some of the ethnic group differences in regard to type of income is due to the fact that a higher percentage of Full Bloods than Mixed Bloods own land on which they receive lease money.

There is also a definite correlation between educational level and being the recipient of welfare or a pension. Among Indians (sample population) in the low education category, 48.3% are receiving some form of welfare or pension payments in contrast to 30.9% of those in the middle education category and 15.6% in the high education category.

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[10] Unearned income includes welfare payments, pensions and lease income.

Land Ownership

There is an inverse relationship between educational level and land ownership: that is the higher the educational level the less is the likelihood of owning land (either individual and/or shared). 73.9% of the Indians (sample population) in the low education category are landowners in contrast to 62.4% in the middle category and 54.6% in the high education category. The same general relationship between education and land ownership exists in both ethnic groups. Because more Full Bloods own land, however, one finds, for example, that 50% of the Mixed Bloods in the high education category own land in contrast to 65.8% of the Full Bloods in the same category.

The age group of the person, however, alters the pattern to some extent because individuals who are 45 years of age and over are more likely to own land than those under 45 years of age. Among Indians 45 and over, those with an eighth grade education or less are more likely to own land than those in the middle and high education categories ($<.001$). In the 25-44 age group, persons in the low and middle education categories are more likely to own land than persons in the high education category ($<.02$).

Also, as educational level increases so does the likelihood of a person using his land for ranching and/or farming. Only 16% of those in the low education category are using their land, 19% in the middle category and 31.3% in the high category. The difference, however, is only significant among Mixed Bloods. 43.2% of the Mixed Bloods in the high education category are using their land in contrast to 28% in the middle education category and 26.9% in the low category. There seems to be little relationship among Full Bloods between use of land and educational level.

Summary of Economic Characteristics

We would like to summarize the relationship between economic characteristics and educational level by presenting a table showing where the majority of individuals fall within each education category.

ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIAN POPULATION BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

(Persons 25 Years and Over)
Percentage Distribution

	Educational Level		
Economic Characteristics	High	Middle	Low
Employment Status of Labor Force	Employed Full Time	Employed Full Time	Employed Full Time or Part Time
Source of Employment	BIA, OEO, Company	BIA, OEO, Company	Company, self person
Occupational Status	4 & 5 rating	5 & 7 rating	5 & 7 rating
Economic Status (household)	Average or higher	Low or very low	Very low or low
Type of Income	Earned or earned and unearned	Unearned or earned and unearned	Unearned
Recipient of Welfare or pension	No	No	No
Land Ownership	Yes	Yes	Yes
Use of Land	No	No	No

COMMUNITY PORTRAIT NO. 1

KYLE COMMUNITY*

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Geography

Kyle has the distinction of being the most centrally located community on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The community lies 50 miles northeast of Pine Ridge village and 35 miles southwest of Wanblee. Politically, Kyle forms a part of Shannon County and is the largest community in Medicine Root District. The village is bordered on the north by Lower Medicine Root community, on the south by Upper Medicine Root community, on the west by American Horse community and on the east by Bull Bear and Potato Creek communities.

Kyle lies on the west bank of Medicine Root Creek and is situated in a valley surrounded by hills to the east and west. The valley extends southward where it is marked by rolling hills and flat, broad plains. A favorite site for fishermen is Kyle Dam located approximately one-quarter mile from the village. The dam was constructed by the CCC during the Depression (1935). The following year the dam was destroyed, but was later rebuilt.

The plains surrounding Kyle are covered with the low-growing buffalo grass and dotted with a variety of trees, shrubs and flowers. The most common trees are the American elm, ash, cedar, box elder, wild plum, chokecherry, cottonwood, oak and various pines. Indigenous to the area are buffalo berry and wild raspberry bushes. Adding color and variety to the landscape are sunflowers, wild sweet peas, bluebells, soapweed and various cacti.

A large variety of birds abound in the Kyle area. These include magpies, snowbirds, meadowlarks, crows, bluejays, buzzards, chicken hawks, blackbirds, prairie chickens, wild ducks and pheasants. Occasionally, a bald eagle or crane is seen in the region. Inhabitating the plains and hills are such animals as mule deer, antelope, coyotes, badgers, skunks, prairie dogs, bobcats, weasels, squirrels, ground squirrels, gophers, moles and a few mink. The common reptiles are the timber rattlesnake, copperhead, blue racer, bull snake and garter snake.

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*Kyle includes both the urban and rural inhabitants - all those individuals who consider Kyle to be their community.
The writer would like to thank Maurice Miller for his helpful suggestions in the writing of this article.

Transportation

Kyle is located on the Big Foot Trail, an oiled highway running from Wounded Knee on the south to Interior on the north. This highway provides easy access to Pine Ridge village and Wanblee and is generally in good condition (except when flooded in the spring months) being maintained by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Besides the main highway there is an oiled highway to Allen and several secondary roads leading to such communities as Lower Medicine Root and American Horse.

There is no public transportation system, but 69%[1] of the Indians and all of the Non-Indian households have a car or truck. A person hiring someone to take him to Pine Ridge village is charged about $10.00.

Communications

Communications is still a major problem in Kyle. Only a handful of families have telephones. There is no 24 hour public telephone service in the community. The only public telephone is located in the Kyle Cafe which closes at 7:30 PM.

The Kyle Post Office was formerly a part of the Trading Post, but is now located in a separate building and is open to the public from 9AM to 3PM. The mail truck from Interior arrives in Kyle about 9:30 AM and then goes on to Sharps, Porcupine and Batesland. In the afternoon, the truck delivers mail to rural residents along the old mail route and makes a second stop in Kyle on the way back to Interior.

Nearly every household with electricity (50% of the Indians and 88% of the White households) has a television set. Families without electricity have at least one transistor radio. The favorite radio station of the teenagers is KIMM (Rapid City) during the day and KOMA (Oklahoma City) at night. Adults listen mostly to KEZU (Rapid City), and KCSR (Chadron) and KOBH (Hot Springs).

The most popular periodicals are the Rapid City Journal, the Bennett County Booster, the War Cry and the Shannon County News. A few residents receive the Omaha World Herald. Besides the general periodicals, the ranchers and farmers subscribe to various agricultural publications.

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[1] The source of all statistics cited is the Baseline Data Study.

Housing and Description of the Populated Zone

There is no regular layout of streets. The pattern of settlement is an irregular clustering of dwellings and public buildings. In the southwestern section of Kyle is an area known as "the village" or town site. This consists of a group of houses built when Indians who wanted to move into the village were given lots. The dwellings in the town site are mostly log and frame or are trailers. A few families have prefabricated houses brought from Igloo, South Dakota. Most of the houses in this section would be considered substandard. They are in a run-down condition and old cars and junk are scattered around the yards. "The village" is inhabited mostly by low-income families.

In the northern section of the village is "the new housing," consisting of prefabricated houses built by the Tribe with the assistance of the Public Housing Authority. These houses are rented by the Tribe to medium income families. A dirt road encircles the housing area. Although these houses are attractive and neat in appearance, they are not, in general, well-built: a number have developed spaces between the floor and walls, and roofs leak during heavy thaws or rainstorms. "The new housing" provides dwellings for fifteen families: 13 single units and one duplex.

In Kyle village to the north of "the new housing" stands the Community Hall which is maintained by the American Legion. Near the Community Hall is a house owned by the American Legion and Zephier's Gas Station. North of these buildings runs the Big Foot Trail which forms the main street of Kyle. Northeast of the gas station is the junction of Big Foot Trail and the highway to Allen.

One of the landmarks is the water tower, located north of the gas station. Due east of the tower is the Little Wound Day School. North of the school is the school bus garage and the housing area for school employees. A large Quonset-type building used to store highway equipment is located east of the teacher housing. Straight east of the housing is the Public Health Service Clinic and the Wright-McGill Factory.

60% of the inhabitants live outside of the village, the houses being located alone in the country or in a rural cluster. The Mixed Bloods and Non-Indians are predominately village dwellers, about 70% live in Kyle village. The majority (52%) of Full Bloods, however, are rural dwellers. Most of the Indian houses located outside of the village are substandard and lack water and electricity.

A majority of Indian houses (61.4%) are owned by a member of the family. The Non-Indians live mainly in rented houses (64.7%). A slightly higher percentage of Mixed Blood (25%) than Full Blood (14.6%) dwellings are rented either from the Tribe or Federal Government.

Demography

POPULATION OF KYLE BY SEX, AGE AND ETHNIC GROUP,
March 1968
Number Distribution

AGE	ALL CLASSES			INDIAN			NON-INDIAN		
ALL AGES	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
ALL AGES	582	287	295	531	263	268	51	24	27
Under 5 years	89	41	48	80	38	42	9	3	6
5-9 years	97	42	55	90	41	49	7	1	6
10-14 years	82	44	38	79	42	37	3	2	1
15-19 years	70	38	32	69	37	32	1	1	0
20-24 years	43	24	19	37	20	17	6	4	2
25-29 years	26	13	13	22	11	11	4	2	2
30-34 years	31	13	18	26	9	17	5	4	1
35-44 years	53	26	27	47	23	24	6	3	3
45-54 years	35	18	17	33	17	16	2	1	1
55-64 years	22	11	11	17	9	8	5	2	3
65-69 years	20	9	11	18	9	9	2	0	2
70 years and over	14	8	6	13	7	6	1	1	0

The total population (village and rural) of Kyle community is 582 persons. Females are in the majority in both the Indian (51.5%) and Non-Indian (53%) populations. Among Mixed Bloods, however, the males outnumber slightly the females (51% male).

Among the Indian population, 67% is under 25 years of age in contrast to 51% of the White population.

Ethnic Composition and Language

Of the total population of Kyle, 49.1% is composed of Mixed Blood Indians, 42.1% Full Blood Indians and 8.8% Non-Indians. 4.2% of the Mixed Bloods are Indians from other reservations. Slightly over half of the Indian population (51.6%) is Mixed Blood. Although members of the three ethnic groups marry largely within their own group, the process of miscegenation is gradually increasing the number of Mixed Bloods. In the sample population,[2] among married respondents who consider themselves to be Full Bloods, 15% are married to Mixed Bloods. Among Mixed Bloods, 25% are married to Full Bloods and 11% to Whites. Among Whites, 36% are married to Mixed Bloods and 8% to Full Bloods.

In the sample population, 57.5% of the Indians are bilingual, speaking both English and Lakota. As one would expect, the rate of bilinguality is higher among Full Bloods (68.7%) than among Mixed Bloods (43.6%). 29% of the Full Bloods speak only a little English and only 2.1% do not speak fluent Lakota. 46% of the Mixed Bloods speak English only and 10.3% speak a little Lakota. Although no Non-Indian is bilingual, 11.8% understand and speak a little Lakota.

The pattern of household language is as follows:[3] in 27.3% of the Indian households, English only is spoken, in 10.2% mostly English, in 43.2% English and Lakota equally, in 12.5% mostly Lakota and in 6.8% Lakota only. English is the predominant language in 72.5% of the Mixed Blood households and Lakota in 31.3% of the Full Blood households.

History

The Kyle area was settled originally by Oglala bands comprised of the followers of the former leader Bull Bear. In 1841, Bull Bear was murdered near the Chugwater by the followers of Smoke. This incident split the Oglala Sioux into two factions: the Bear people and the Smoke people. According to Hyde, the Bear people settled on Medicine Root Creek and other streams in the eastern side of the Pine Ridge Reservation[4] some time shortly after 1878. Macgregor states that three communities in the Kyle area were settled under the leadership of American Horse, Thunder Bull and Little Wound. The allotment system caused a dispersion of the original band members. Homes were a quarter of a mile to a mile apart. Usually members of the same band lived along the same creek,"so descendants of original bands maintained a community

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2. Adults who answered the complete questionnaire, each representing one household.
3. N=88
4. Hyde, George E. Red Cloud's Folk, A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1937, pp 53-55 and p. 313.

grouping."[5] A generation or two ago one could trace relationship back to the original extended family group, but this is becoming increasingly difficult.

Many of the present inhabitants of Kyle are descendants of Bull Bear.[6] It is said that Bull Bear had twelve wives and thirty sons. Hyde describes Bull Bear as a great chief "but something of a tyrant, holding his turbulent followers in check by roaring at them..... He had never paid for a wife, taking the girls who pleased his eye and letting their parents whistle for the customary payment."[7]

In the beginning, the location now known as Kyle was merely a place for the distribution of rations to the Indians in the area. Rations such as beef, bacon, salt, sugar and flour were distributed every two weeks by the federal government.

Later a trading post was opened about three miles south of the present village by William Bird Head. Some time after that, a man named Charles Turning Hawk operated a store on the southern edge of the present site. Besides the store, there was the government commissary and a few scattered dwellings. The settlement was also a round-up camp. A Wyoming rancher had leased a large section of land and once a year the cattle were rounded-up in this location.

The store owner, Charles Turning Hawk, at one time visited Washington as a representative of the Oglalas and while there, it is said that he met a U.S. Senator named James Henderson Kyle[8] and that the Senator later visited Turning Hawk on the Reservation. Turning Hawk named his store for the Senator and eventually the settlement came to be known as Kyle.

Health and Sanitation

Because of the lack of water facilities and inadequate housing and the fact that garbage collection is infrequent (once a week in "the housing"), sanitation presents serious problems in Kyle. Only 29.6% of the Indian homes have water piped into the house. This is in contrast to 82.3% of the White homes. 26.1% of the Indian households have a well with a pump in the yard. The remainder (44.3%) must haul their water from neighbors houses or from creeks or springs. The Full Blood households especially are lacking adequate water supplies: only 18.8% have water piped into the house in comparison to 42.5% of Mixed Blood households.

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[5] Macgregor, Gordon et al, Warriors Without Weapons.... University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1946, p 67.

[6] The writer is a direct descendant on the maternal side, his mother being the great great granddaughter of Bull Bear.

[7] Hyde, op. cit., p. 53.

[8] James H. Kyle was a Senator from South Dakota from 1891-1901.

In spite of the lack of water, an effort is made by the majority of Indians to keep themselves neat and clean. Clothes are washed at least once a week. Fortunately, Kyle has a laundromat with five machines and three dryers which are in constant use.

At the time of being surveyed, 25% of the respondents were suffering from some kind of physical disability: 4.5% from an eyesight defect, 3.4% from a broken bone, 2.3% from some kind of crippling, 2.3% from diabetes, 1.2% from tuberculosis and 1.2% from a heart condition. 10.3% were suffering from other ailments. A higher percentage of Full Blood (35.2%) than Mixed Blood (17.5%) respondents claimed to have a physical disability. None of the White respondents reported having a physical disability. 14.6% of the Indian sample said that they had been seriously injured at one time (20.8% of the Full Bloods and 7.5% of the Mixed Bloods). The reported injuries were a result of vehicle accidents (46.1%), accidents involving animals (23.1%), armed forces accidents (7.7%), home accidents (7.7%), work accidents (7.7%) and aggressive acts (7.7%).

Kyle community has a Public Health Service Clinic which is open Monday afternoons and is staffed by a physician and nurses from the Division of Field Health of the PHS Hospital in Pine Ridge. Kyle also has the services of a psychiatric social worker, Maurice Miller, from the PHS Community Mental Health Program and a PHS public health nurse, Helen Schmeig. These two specialists offer consultation to the schools, the Community Health Aides, etc., and is also involved in casework and general community problems. The public health nurse makes home and school visits and acts as a liason between the Indian people and the personnel of the Public Health Service.

In the survey, the respondents were asked how the PHS could improve its services. Among Indians who responded to the question, the largest percentage (45.8%) would like to see an expansion of services in the Kyle community: i.e., more frequent clinic days or a daily clinic, a doctor and nurse permanently stationed in Kyle. 16.6% wanted better physicians, 18.6% better patient-staff relations, 13.6% a larger staff and 10.2% more home visits. 23.7% stated that they were satisfied with the present services.

Besides the PHS services, Kyle has six Community Health Aides,[9] one Community Worker Aide, two Homemaker Aides and four rangers,[10] who are sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity. These Indian aides visit homes and schools, refer cases to the proper agency, are involved in health and homemaking education, etc. There is also a County extension aide, Mrs. Verna Heathershaw who organizes cooking and sewing groups, etc. She is hired by the State University of South Dakota through a contract with the BIA.

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[9] Community Health Aides - Mabel Janis, Mabel Rosales, Isabelle Bull Bear, Joshua Gay, Victoria Iron Cloud and Marlene Foote.

[10] Community Worker Aide - Amos Lone Hill, Homemaker Aides - Lizzie Mesteth and Caroline Janis, Rangers - William Lone Hill. Anthony Apple, Robert Stadnick and Arthur Red Owl.

Kyle also has local curers including one yuwipi man who is especially outstanding and many of whose patients come from outside of the Kyle area.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Employment

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF INDIAN LABOR FORCE IN KYLE BY SEX:
March 1968
(Persons 14 years and over; excluding students, housewives, disabled and retired)

Percentage Distribution

	Total Number	Employed Full-Time	Employed Part-Time	Employed	Unemployed
Total	134	56.7	13.4	70.1	29.9
Male	88	52.3	14.8	67.1	32.9
Female	46	65.2	11.0	76.2	23.8

The rate of employment in Kyle is considerably higher than it was several years ago because of the Poverty Program and the opening of the fishhook factory.

Interestingly enough, the rate of employment among Full Bloods (70.9%) is slightly higher than among Mixed Bloods (69.4%), but the rate of underemployment (working part-time) is higher among Full Bloods (19.3%) than among Mixed Bloods (8.3%). The employment rate of the White labor force is 100%.

Sources of Income

Among the Indian working force (sample population), the highest percentage is employed by the OEO (29.4%). The second most important source of employment is the fishhook factory (26.5%).[11] 14.7% are employed by the BIA, 11.8% by an individual, 4.8% are self-employed and 5.9% by another government agency. Half of the Indian working force are government employees.

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[11] The fishhook factory now employs 45 persons.

Half of the White working force is employed by the BIA (mostly as teachers), 21.4% are self-employed, the remainder works for other government agencies. Thus 78.5% of the White working force is employed by a government agency.

As regards type of income, among Indian males, the largest percentage is both earned and unearned (44.7%). Among Indian females, the highest percent is unearned (50.0%). A higher percentage of Mixed Blood (30.8%) than Full Blood respondents (6.4%) have income which is completely earned. 76.5% of the income of Non-Indian respondents is completely earned.

Unearned income is derived largely from lease payments, and pension and welfare payments from the government. 34.1% of the Indians (sample population) is receiving some type of welfare or pension, (37.5% of the Full Blood and 30.0% of the Mixed Bloods). A larger percent of women (38%) than men (28.9%) are receiving welfare or pension payments.

Among welfare and pension payments, 30% are ADC, 23.3% Veterans' pensions, 13.3% Social Security, 13.3% other State Welfare, 6.7% retirement pensions and 10.0% other type of pension or welfare. 47.4% of Indian women receiving welfare or a pension, are recipients of ADC. (54.5% of Full Blood women and 37.5% of Mixed Blood women). The most prevalent source of pension or welfare payments among Indian men is a Veterans' pension.

Land Ownership and Use

72.4% of the Indians (sample population) and 47.1% of the Whites own land. Land ownership, however, is more prevalent among Full Bloods (85.4%) than Mixed Bloods (56.4%). Of those who own land, only 35% of the Mixed Bloods, 13.5% of the Full Bloods and 85.7% of the Non-Indians are using their land for ranching and/or farming. 60% of the Mixed Bloods and all of the Full Bloods are leasing all or part of the land in contrast to 12.5% of the Non-Indians.

The few ranchers and farmers in Kyle community are White or Mixed Bloods. The crops in the Kyle area are wheat, oats, barley, corn, potatoes, sedan grass and alfalfa. The principal breeds of cattle raised are Hereford and Aberdeen angus. The majority of horses are range horses plus some Appaloosa and Quarter horses.

A number of Indian families, especially those who have land in the country have gardens where they raise potatoes, corn, carrots, beets, rutabagas, turnips, peas, onions, tomatoes, beans, radishes, cucumbers and watermelons.

Commercial Activities

At the present time, Kyle has three commercial establishments that sell groceries and gasoline. Kieffe's Store, owned by Richard and Lorraine Kieffe, sells mainly groceries and meats. The store also has gas, tires, and auto parts and even sells some clothing. In the middle of the store is a table and chairs where people can sit around gossiping and passing the time of day. Adjacent to the store is the laundromat also owned and operated by the Kieffes.

A social center of Kyle is the Kyle Cafe owned by Lawrence Whiting. The Kyle Cafe was established (no one is certain of the exact date) by Hans James Christensen who married Rose Sherman. In the beginning, the cafe was a log building. In the front was the commercial part where meals and gas were sold while the back part served as a dwelling for the family. Later the Cafe sold groceries and candy and also operated a taxi service. In 1963, Lawrence Whiting bought the cafe. Now Whitings' is a cafe, grocery store and gas station. It has a library composed of book and magazine donations, a pinball machine and a public telephone. The Cafe is a favorite gathering place for the young people who sit or stand around listening to the juke box, drinking soft drinks, and playing the pinball machine.

Zephiers Gas Station, owned by Harvey Zephier, also sells some groceries and candy, as well as auto parts and repairs autos. The gas station closes between 8:00 PM and 9:00 PM.

Formerly there was a fourth grocery-gas station, The Kyle Trading Post, but this is now closed down. Gas and oil, however, are still sold at the Post and the present owner gives 24 hour service. The Trading Post is now being used as a community service center for OEO personnel stationed in Kyle.

Clothing and furniture and some groceries are purchased outside of Kyle. Shopping trips to Gordon, Martin, Rapid City, Rushville or Chadron are generally made every two weeks when salary, welfare or pension checks are received.

From fifteen to twenty men and women still make beadwork to earn extra money. Jewelry of various kinds and belts are fashioned from beads and broadcloth is beaded for Indian costumes. A few Indians make moccasins and decorate them with beadwork. Beadwork articles are made for individuals on request and sold to local stores where they are resold to tourists.

Family Organization

There is some evidence of marital instability in Kyle. 67.7% of Indians 14 years of age and older are married and living with their spouse, but 9.3% are divorced or separated. The rate of separation and divorce is especially high among Full Blood (15.6%) and White women (14.3%). This is in contrast to 6% among Mixed Blood women.

The most prevalent type of family among Indians is the complete nuclear family consisting of a couple or a couple and their children (64.5%). 19.8% of the Indian families are incomplete nuclear families with a female head, 11.9% consist of persons living alone, 2% are incomplete nuclear families with a male head and 2% are other types of families. Because of the high percentage of individuals living alone (40%) among the Whites, only 55% of the families are of the complete nuclear type. The average family size among Indians is 5.26 and among Non-Indians 2.55. Again, the high percentage of persons who live alone is influencing the family size among Non-Indians. Most of the persons in this category are teachers who are single or widowed.

Among Indians who are students or pre-school children, 69% are living with both parents.[12] More Mixed Blood (75%) than Full Blood children (60.3%) are living with both parents. Among Indian children not living with both parents, 22.5% are living with the mother only and 8.5% with neither parent. Among Non-Indians, 90% are living with both parents and 10% with the mother only.

Political Organization

Medicine Root District has four representatives on the Tribal Council. All of the newly elected tribal councilmen are from Kyle community: George Jensen, Richard Janis, Bernard Janis and Mathew Eagle Heart.

Medicine Root District also has a District Council composed of a president, Joshua Wounded Head from Potato Creek; vice-president, Levi Mesteth, Sr. from Kyle and secretary, Mathew Eagle Heart from Kyle. Ideally the District Council holds a community meeting every two weeks to determine the viewpoint of the Indian residents. Supposedly the District Council acts as an interpreter of public opinion to the Tribal Council members. Actually the District Council meets irregularly.

There seems to be no strong formal or informal leadership patterns in Kyle. Impetus for community improvement generally originates from the outside, from government agencies such as the OEO and the BIA. The most influential individuals are the Councilmen, the Community Health and Home Management Aides, the Community Worker Aide, the school personnel, the policeman, the rangers and the storekeepers. Sometimes, however, these groups compete with one another rather than cooperating for the progress of Kyle.

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[12] N=306

Formal Religious Organization

There are five churches in the Kyle area: two Catholic churches, Our Lady of Sorrows located in Kyle village and St. Stephen's located 7 miles north of Kyle on the edge of the Aerial Gunnery Range; two Episcopal churches, St. Barnabus located about 1-1/2 miles south of Kyle and the Mediator church located 6 miles west of Kyle; and the Dakota Wesleyan Methodist church located in Kyle village.

The Catholic church has the largest congregation: 46.6% of the sample Indian population is Catholic. The majority of the parishioners are Mixed Blood Indians: 75% of the Mixed Blood sample is Catholic. Kyle village has had a Catholic church since 1916. The original church was called "The Cross". The present church was built around 1936. Kyle has a resident priest, Father Paul Manhart, who also holds services at St. Stephen's church, built in 1910.

The Episcopal congregation is also a large one: 42% of the sample Indian population is Episcopalian. The majority is Full Blood: 62.5% of the Full Bloods are Episcopalian. The two churches were founded some time in the 1890's. Each church has a lay reader: Morris Bull Bear at St. Barnabus and Joshua Gay at the Mediator. Two priests from Martin, Father Lester Kills Crow and Father Gordon Plowe, hold services every two weeks in the Kyle churches.

Formal Education

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has operated a grammar school in the Kyle area, probably since around 1880. The first school was said to be located on Medicine Root Creek about 5 miles south of Kyle, just east of the present house of Zoey Crazy Dog. It is said that Indians, both young and old, attended the school to learn English.

The present Little Wound Day School was constructed in 1938 after the former building was destroyed by fire. In March 1968, the school had an enrollment of 296 students in the eighth grades and in the beginners and kindergarten classes. The staff consists of a principal, Mr. Marvin Waldner, 11 teachers, 10 teacher aides, 1 secretary, 5 NYC workers, 3 bus drivers, 3 cooks and 2 janitors.

Little Wound School has ten classrooms, plus a trailer house converted into a classroom. Besides the classrooms, there is a large kitchen and dining room for serving hot lunches to the students and a gym. The school is active in promoting sports: there are two basketball teams, a girls volleyball team and gymnastics has just been introduced into the curriculum. The school also sponsors Boy and Girl Scout and 4-H club groups.

The educational level of Kyle residents by ethnic group is as follows:

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL IN KYLE, BY ETHNIC GROUP
Persons 25 years and older, March 1968
Years of School Completed and Compared to
U.S. White and Negro Population, 1965

Percentage Distribution

Ethnic Group	Elementary School		High School			College	
	Less than 5 years	5 - 7 years	8 years	1 - 3 years	4 years	1 - 3 years	4 years or more
Total Indian N=165	8.5	27.9	19.4	24.2	18.2	1.8	
Mixed Blood N=76	5.3	15.8	18.4	32.9	25.0	2.6	
Full Blood N=89	11.2	38.2	20.2	16.8	12.4	1.1	
Non-Indian N=24	8.3	0	8.3	12.5	25.0	12.5	33.3
U.S. White	5.5	9.8	15.9	17.6	32.1	9.3	9.9
U.S. Negro	16.2	19.9	12.4	22.2	17.7	4.7	4.7

The educational level of Kyle Indians falls considerably below the general U.S. White and Negro populations: 20% of the Indians are high school graduates in comparison to 51.3% of the U.S. White and 27.1% of the U.S. Negro population. The Mixed Bloods, however, have a slightly higher percentage of high-school graduates (27.6%) than U.S. Negro, but a lower percentage of college educated persons. The educational level of Kyle Non-Indian residents is much higher than the general U.S. White population: 70.8% are high school graduates. One can say, however, that this is an atypical population because of the high percentage of teachers in the population.

Community Services and Needs

The following table presents a brief summary of the public services available in Kyle:

EXTENT OF COMMUNITY SERVICES IN KYLE

Service	Extent of Service
Water	29.6% of Indian households have water piped into home
Electricity	50% of Indian households
Telephone	1 public telephone
Post Office	2 mail deliveries a day
Education	Complete elementary school, plus Headstart Program
Clinic	Every Monday afternoon with attending physician and nurses
Other PHS services	Psychiatric Social Worker and Public Health Nurse - 1 day a week
Health Aides	Six full-time Health Aides
Other OEO Personnel	1 Community Worker Aide, 2 Homemaker Aides and 4 Rangers
Extension Services	1 county extension aide
Garbage Collection	Once a week for "new housing" only
Police	1 policeman
Churches	2 Episcopal, 2 Catholic and 1 Wesleyan Methodist
Recreation	Occasional powwows and dances for young people. Basketball, baseball, softball, and volleyball teams. School gym, 2 softball and 1 baseball diamond, rodeo arena, school playground, Community Hall. Annual Kyle Fair, Square dance groups, cash bingo games once a week.
Commercial Services	Cafe - grocery - gas station. Grocery - gas station. Gas station. Landromat.
Industries	Wright-McGill fishhook factory - employs 45 persons. Home industries - beadwork.

According to the Indian sample population, (N=88), the major community needs or problems of Kyle are: housing (54.5%), water (47.7%), employment (17.0%), better sanitation (12.5%), community spirit (6.8%), better roads (4.5%), improved medical facilities (4.5%), drinking (4.5%), crime (3.4%), leadership (3.4%), and education (3.4%).

According to the Non-Indian sample population (N=17), the major necessities and problems of Kyle are high taxes (64.7%), employment (52.9%), housing (47.1%), recreational facilities (35.3%), crime (29.4%), drinking (23.5%), roads (23.5%), and water (17.6%).

Kyle is a community that is improving economically because of a rising rate of employment, but the employment rate is still low and much of the employment, like that sponsored by the OEO, may be temporary. Also the majority of the residents live in substandard housing without water and electricity. Community progress is at the present time hampered by the lack of strong local leadership along with community spirit. Also lacking is community cohesiveness: Mixed Blood - Full Blood factions exist and there is some rivalry among government organizations working within the community. By achieving an organized community, Kyle would not only be the central Reservation community, but a model community as well.

Levi Mesteth
Research Aide

The Pine Ridge Research Bulletin will be issued on an irregular basis as research results become available. Staff of the Bulletin: editor, Eileen Maynard; copy editor, Lucille Cuny; preparation of statistics, Roger Kihega; research assistants, Belva Long Wolf and Levi Mesteth.

PINE RIDGE RESEARCH BULLETIN

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
DIVISION OF INDIAN HEALTH
COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM

PAUL E. Moss, Acting Director
PHS/Pine Ridge Service Unit

Carl Mindell, M.D.
CMHP, Director

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The Pine Ridge Research Bulletin will be issued on an irregular basis as research results become available. Staff of the Bulletin: editor, Eileen Maynard: copy editor; Lucille Cuny; Research Assistant, Levi Mesteth, Jr.

Cover Design - Lawson Waters

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDIAN STUDENT POPULATION

Introduction

This issue of the Bulletin will concentrate on the problems of Indian youth, especially those of the student population from kindergarten through high school.

As the final statistics on age distribution become available from the Baseline Data Study, one is again struck by the extreme youthfulness of the Indian population. Let us look at the data on age groups for the Pine Ridge Reservation.

AGE GROUPS, INDIAN POPULATION

Age Group	Number	% of Total Population
Under 5 years	1592	16.2
5-9 years	1621	16.5
10-14 years	1274	13.0
15-19 years	1106	11.3
20-24 years	695	7.1
25-29 years	541	5.5
30-34 years	462	4.7
35-39 years	436	4.4
40-44 years	366	3.7
45-49 years	375	3.8
50-54 years	295	3.0
55-59 years	265	2.7
60-64 years	227	2.3
65-69 years	220	2.3
70 and older	326	3.3
Age unknown	14	.1
Total	9815	99.9
Under 18	2595	53.0
Under 20	2789	57.0
Under 25	3151	64.1

The population of the United States is characterized as a youthful one, almost 50% being less than 25 years of age. One could then describe the Pine Ridge Reservation Indian population as super-youthful. The median age is 16.7 in comparison to 27.9 for the Non-Indian population on the Reservation, and 29.0 for U. S. Whites in general and 21.6 for U.S. Non-whites (1965).

One third of the Indian population is attending Reservation schools and it is with this group that we are primarily concerned at this time. Among the student population from kindergarten through 12th grade, 50.9% are females and 49.1% males; 55.9% Mixed Blood and 44.1% Full Blood.

Parental Presence

The rate of parental absence is high among the school-age population. Almost 40% (39.6%) are not living with both parents. 60.4% are living with both parents, 24.3% are living with the mother only, 4.0% with the father only and 11.3% with neither parent. Of the latter, 53.6% are living with a grandparent or grandparents, 13.8% with an aunt or uncle and 16.5% are foster children.

Parental absence is significantly higher among Full Blood students than among Mixed Blood students: 63.8% of the Mixed Bloods are living with both parents in comparison to 56.1% of the Full Bloods. The Mixed Blood student is thus more likely to be living with both parents than is the Full Blood student. (χ^2= 19.35 $<$.001).

Economic Status of Household

As we shall see in the following table, one half of the students (59.7%) are living in households in which the 1966 income was reported to be less than $3,000.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME (1966) OF SCHOOL POPULATION
(KINDERGARTEN - 12th GRADE) BY ETHNIC GROUP
Percentage Distribution

Household Income	Mixed Blood	Full Blood	Total Indian
Under $3,000	43.0	80.1	59.7
$3,000 - 5,999	29.6	15.7	23.3
$6,000 and over	27.4	4.2	17.0
	N=1338	N=1093	N=2431

The difference between income levels of Mixed Bloods and Full Bloods is highly significant. In consequence, there is a greater likelihood that the income level of the household of the Mixed Blood student will be higher than that of the Full Blood student's household.

There is a definite relationship between income levels and parental presence in both ethnic groups; that is the higher the household income, the greater is the likelihood of both parents being present. The relationship is more evident among Mixed Bloods than among Full Bloods. For example, among Mixed Bloods, 36.2% of those who live with both parents come from households in which the annual income was less than $3,000 in comparison with 55% of those not living with both parents. Among Full Bloods, 78.5% of those living with both parents have a household income of less than $3,000 in comparison to 82.3% of students not living with both parents. This seems to suggest that income is more influenced by parental presence among Mixed Bloods than among Full Bloods or stated another way, parental absence among Full Bloods has less effect on the income levels than among Mixed Bloods; but in both groups, although the presence of both parents does not guarantee a higher income, one can say that the presence of both parents make it more likely that the income level will be higher.

Overage for Grade

Several important findings have resulted from a Bureau of Indian Affairs study of school dropouts on the Pine Ridge Reservation. (Knudson, 1968). One of these indicates that students overage for their grade are potential dropouts. Among dropouts, the median age on entering ninth grade was 16 (64% were 16 years or older) while among those who were graduated, the median age was 15 (81% were 15 years or younger) upon entering ninth grade. Since being overage for grade is one of the predictors of dropping out of school, it is vital that we consider the rate of overage and some of the characteristics of students who are or are not overage for grade.

Among Indian children attending Reservation schools, a fairly high percentage (27%) were overage for their grade. To define overage, we categorized as overage a child who is two years or more older than the normal age for the grade attending. For example, a child who was eight years or older and in the first grade was considered overage. Following is a breakdown by grade of the percentage of students who were overage for their grade in the 1967-68 school year:

PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL POPULATION OVERAGE FOR GRADE ATTENDING, BY GRADE

Grade	% Overage
Kindergarten	3.5
1st grade	14.1
2nd grade	22.7
3rd grade	18.7
4th grade	29.0
5th grade	30.0
6th grade	34.7
7th grade	31.2
8th grade	39.4
9th grade	34.7
10th grade	35.7
11th grade	31.1
12th grade	43.6

The causes of being overage for one's grade on the Reservation are many. For one thing, many children enroll in school at a later age than among the general population. Also, a number of the children are not prepared for school, lacking many of the advantages of the middle class child. The period of adjustment to the school environment is thus a longer one and may result in having to repeat grades. The above causes for overage are, however, decreasing. Children are now enrolling at an earlier age in the first grade and more have been receiving preparation for school through the Headstart and nursery school programs in the last three years. According to teachers, the result of preparation and earlier enrollment should be apparent in the increase in overage students in the fourth grade and this is indeed reflected in the statistics.

Other causes of overage for grade are a high rate of absenteeism and transfers which in turn are related to lack of motivation to learn, family and economic problems, etc. In high school, some students drop out for a year or two and then return to complete high school. This may account in part for the high percentage of overage students in the 12th grade.

In comparing the overage students with those who are not overage, one finds that a significantly higher percentage of males (30.2%) than females (23.9%) are overage for their grade. Also, highly significant statistically is the difference between Mixed Bloods and Full Bloods: 35.2% of the Full Bloods are overage compared to 20.5% of the Mixed Bloods. Also a higher percentage of students living out in the country (30.4%) than in villages (24.1%) are overage, but this seems to be related more to ethnic group differences than to place of residence as a higher percentage of Mixed Bloods than Full Bloods live in the villages. Among Full Blood students, there is no significant difference in being overage for grade between rural and urban residents and the difference is of minimal significance (.05 level) between rural and urban Mixed Bloods.

OVERAGE FOR GRADE BY ETHNIC GROUP AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

	Mixed Blood	Full Blood
Not Overage		
Village	81.0	66.2
Country	76.8	63.7
Overage		
Village	19.0	33.8
Country	23.2	36.3

The fact of having both parents in the home is also of significance.

OVERAGE FOR GRADE AND PARENTAL PRESENCE
Percentage Distribution

Parental Presence	Total School Population	Overage for Grade
Both Parents	60.4	24.4
Mother only	24.3	27.8
Father only	4.0	50.4
Neither parent	11.3	31.2

N=3259

Among students with both parents present, 24.4% are overage in comparison to 31.0% among those students in homes where one or both parents are missing and the difference is significant at the $\angle .001$ level ($\chi^2 = 17.60$). Noteworthy is the high percentage of overage students from households in which only the father is present (50.4%). Also, it is interesting to note that although the percentage of overage students is higher among those living with the mother only than with those living with both parents, the difference is not statistically significant. In other words, the presence of the mother in the home seems to be an important factor.

In considering the relationship between economic status and overage for grade, one finds the following:

OVERAGE FOR GRADE AND LEVELS OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME
Percentage Distribution

Household Income	Total School Population	Overage for Grade
Under $3,000	59.7	32.9
$3,000 - 5,999	23.3	24.1
$6,000 or more	17.0	10.4

N=2431

There is obviously a strong relationship between being overage for grade and reported household income: the higher the income level, the less is the likelihood of a student being over age for his grade. ($\chi^2 = 86.12$ df2 $< .001$).

We have, however, pointed out that the variable of parental presence and economic status are related; that is the higher the income level, the greater is the likelihood that a student will be living with both parents ($< .001$). You might argue that ethnic group also may be influencing the results because the household income among Mixed Bloods is higher than among Full Bloods. The results, however, show that when the Mixed Blood and Full Blood groups are considered separately, the relationship between parental presence and income still pertains.

Since parental presence and income level are related to overage for grade, and both are interrelated, the question arises as to which variable is more strongly affecting being overage for grade. The way to resolve the problem, is to divide the school population according to both parental presence and income levels and then see the effect on being overage for grade. We can also divide the categories by ethnic group. Let us see the results.

OVERAGE FOR GRADE BY PARENTAL PRESENCE AND INCOME LEVELS
AMONG THE MIXED BLOOD SCHOOL POPULATION
Percentage Distribution

Income Level	Overage For Grade
Both Parents Present	
Under $3,000	26.1
$3,000 - 5,999	16.7
$6,000 or more	7.5
Both Parents Not Present	
Under $3,000	25.8
$3,000 - 5,999	23.6
$6,000 or more	18.1

N=1338

OVERAGE FOR GRADE BY PARENTAL PRESENCE AND INCOME LEVELS AMONG THE FULL BLOOD SCHOOL POPULATION

Percentage Distribution

Income Level	Overage For Grade
Both Parents Present	
Under $3,000	36.0
$3,000 - 5,999	34.2
$6,000 or more	23.5
Both Parents Not Present	
Under $3,000	39.5
$3,000 - 5,999	38.9
$6,000 or more	13.8

N=1093

The results clearly show that the economic status is more strongly related to overage for grade than is parental presence, although the latter is important. Regardless of whether both parents are present or not, overage decreases as the income level rises. One must, however, not be too hasty in concluding a cause and effect relationship between economic status and overage for grade. One might, for instance, postulate that acculturation level is involved. Among the more acculturated Indians, the economic level is generally higher and the greater is the adherance to middle class values which emphasize the nuclear family unit and educational attainments.

JUVENILE OFFENSES AND OFFENDERS ON THE PINE RIDGE RESERVATION

INTRODUCTION

A major concern of Law and Order, the welfare agencies, the Community Mental Health Program and the Indian people is the rate of juvenile offenses on the Pine Ridge Reservation and the inadequate means now available for the rehabilitation of juvenile offenders. The general purpose of this study is to provide background material which may be useful to those engaged in planning programs to care for and aid juvenile offenders and for those interested in reducing the rate of delinquency. Specifically, our goals are to delineate some of the general characteristics of juvenile offenders and to compare this group with non-offenders in the hopes of pinpointing some of the basic causes of delinquency. Also, we would like to discuss in some detail the nature of the offenses committed by juveniles.

To carry out the study, we selected three hundred children under eighteen years of age who had been booked by the Tribal Police for alleged offenses committed during 1967. Nearly all juvenile offenders who could be identified through the Baseline Data Study were included. (Some juveniles were not included in the Baseline Data Study because they were living off the Reservation at the time of the survey or were not permanent residents of the Reservation.) Our study, therefore, includes practically the entire offender population under 18 years of age for whom socio-economic data is available. The age of the children ranged from five through seventeen years. Information on the type and number of offenses was tabulated for each child. The total number of offenses committed was 632 and the offenses ranged from curfew violation to burglary.

TYPES OF OFFENSES

Categories of Offenses

Let us first look at the seriousness of the offenses committed by juveniles. Offenses were divided into three categories according to degree of seriousness: petty offenses, low misdemeanors and high misdemeanors. Because felonies were rare, they are included in the high misdemeanor category.

Petty offenses included curfew violation, truancy, AWOL, and driving without a permit. Petty offenses accounted for 44% of the total offenses.

The most prevalent type of offenses (47%) fell into the low misdemeanor category which included offenses such as disorderly conduct, (D/C), malicious mischief (M/M), theft, reckless driving (R/D) and liquor violation (L/V).

Only 9% of the offenses fell into the high misdemeanor category. This included such offenses as assault and battery (A/B), driving while intoxicated (DWI), burglary, escape, resisting arrest (R/A), assault with a deadly weapon (AWDW), etc.

Truancy, AWOL and Curfew Violation

The most prevalent petty offenses, in fact the most prevalent of all offenses, were those involving truancy and AWOL from the boarding schools. This type of offense accounted for 26% of the total offenses committed by juveniles and was the most common offense among children of five through 14 years of age. The majority, however, of those booked for truancy and AWOL were in the 15-17 age group. Slightly more of this type of offense was committed by Full Blood children.

Another frequent petty offense was curfew violation which accounted for 15% of the total offenses. The majority of violators were in the 15-17 age groups and this offense was committed equally by Mixed Bloods and Full Bloods.

Disorderly Conduct

Disorderly conduct was the most prevalent low misdemeanor and the second most frequent offense. In fact, one out of four offenses was of this type. The child was booked for disorderly conduct in general, for D/C - drunk or D/C - fighting. Most cases of D/C, however, probably involved some degree of intoxication. This offense was the most common one among adolescents in the 15-17 age group (85%) and a slight majority (53%) of D/C offenses were committed by Full Bloods.

Malicious Mischief

12% of all offenses were labelled malicious mischief. This accounted for 35% of the offenses of children in the 5-9 age group. The majority of these offenses, however, were committed by adolescents in the 15-17 age group (60%) and by Full Bloods (54%).

Theft and Burglary

This type of offense against property accounted for 8% of the total offenses (50 offenses of theft and 4 of burglary). The majority were committed by Mixed Bloods (56%) and by those in the 15-17 age group (52%). A fairly high percentage of offenses of children from 10-14 were those of theft or burglary (15%).

Assault

Aggression of a fairly serious nature against persons accounted for 4% of the total offenses: 24 cases of assault and battery, 3 cases of assault with a deadly weapon and one case of rape. 65% of these offenses were committed by Full Bloods in the 15-17 age group. There were no cases of assault among children under 15 years of age. In all other types of offenses, the majority were committed my males but in the case of assault, we find that 50% were committed by females.

Traffic Violations

There were only 24 cases of traffic violations (i.e., D/W/O/P, RID, DWI) and as one would expect only those in the 15-17 age group were involved. What is interesting about this offense is that the majority of violators were Mixed Blood males: 79% committed by Mixed Bloods and 96% by males.

Escape and Resisting Arrest

2% (10 cases) of the offenses involved escape or resisting arrest. As in the case of traffic violations, the majority were committed by Mixed Blood males in the 15-17 age group. 90% of this type of offenses was committed by males, 80% by Mixed Bloods and 70% by those in the 15-17 age group.

In summary, we present the following table which list the most frequent offenses committed by juveniles along with a percentage distribution by sex, age and ethnic group to indicate the general characteristics of those who committed each type of offense. Offenses which comprised less than 2% of total offenses are not included.

MOST FREQUENT OFFENSES AND BY WHOM COMMITTED

Offenses	Total Number	% of Total Offenses	% Male	% Female	% MB	% FB	% 5-9	% 10-14	% 15-17	Majority Committed By
Truancy & AWOL	164	26	61	39	48	52	3	33	63	Male - Full Blood 15-17 years
Curfew Violations	97	15	58	42	50	50	0	29	71	Male-15-17 years
Traffic Violations	24	4	96	4	79	21	0	0	100	Male - Mixed Blood 15-17 years
DWOP	13	0	92	8	69	31	0	0	100	
R/D	7	0	100	0	100	0	0	0	100	
DWI	4	0	100	0	75	25	0	0	100	
Malicious Mischief	76	12	75	25	46	54	7	33	60	Male - Full Blood 15-17 years
Disorderly Conduct	156	25	63	37	47	53	2	13	85	Male - Full Blood 15-17 years
Theft & Burglary	54	8	93	7	56	44	4	44	52	Male - Mixed Blood 15-17 years
Theft	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Burglary	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Assault	28	4	50	50	36	64	0	0	100	Full Bloods 15-17 years
A/B	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
AWDW	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Rape	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Escape & Resisting Arrest	10	2	90	10	80	20	0	30	70	Male - Mixed Blood 15-17 years

OFFENSES BY SEX, AGE AND ETHNIC GROUP

5-9 Age Group

Offenses committed by this age group account for only 2.6% of the total offenses: 64% being low misdemeanors and 35% petty offenses.

The most frequent offenses in this age group were truancy and malicious mischief, each accounting for 35.3% of the total offenses. No females were included in this age group. Among Full Bloods, malicious mischief accounted for 50% of the offenses; while among Mixed Bloods, truancy was the most common offense (55.6%).

10-14 Males

18.5% of the total offenses were committed by males between the ages of 10 through 14 and account for 27% of male offenses. Of the offenses, 49% were low misdemeanors, 46% petty offenses and 5% high misdemeanors.

The majority of the offenses of this group were truancy (29%), theft (19%) and malicious mischief (17%). Mixed Bloods committed a higher number of the offenses in this age group (64%) and account for 31% of all offenses of Mixed Blood males. Full Bloods have a higher percentage of low misdemeanors than Mixed Bloods and the offenses account for 22% of Full Blood male offenses. There is little difference between the type of offenses committed by males in each ethnic group, except that a slightly higher percentage of Full Bloods were booked for malicious mischief and more of the high misdemeanors were committed by Mixed Bloods.

10-14 Females

Girls in this age group account for 7% of total offenses and 22% of all female offenses. The most prevalent offenses were truancy (32%), curfew violation (29%) and disorderly conduct (23%). The majority of offenses were petty (64%) and no high misdemeanors were committed by this group.

57% of the offenses were committed by Full Blood girls and these offenses account for 20% of total Full Blood female offenses. Mixed Blood girls committed 43% of the offenses in this group and their offenses accounted for 24% of all Mixed Blood female offenses. There are practically no differences of any significance between ethnic groups in regard to the type of offense committed.

15-17 Males

This is the highest offense group. 47% of all offenses were committed by males between the ages of 15 through 17 and their offenses accounted for 69% of all male offenses. The majority of the offenses were low misdemeanors (51%). Petty offenses comprised 37% of the offenses and high misdemeanors, 12%. The highest percentage of offenses consisted of disorderly conduct (29%), truancy (17%), curfew violation (14%), malicious mischief (10%) and theft (7%).

Mixed Bloods committed a higher percentage of offenses (52%) and account for 65% of Mixed Blood male offenses. Full Bloods committed 48% of the offenses in this group and accounted for 74% of all Full Blood male offenses. The differences between the two ethnic groups in the type of offense committed were slight but Full Bloods committed more petty offenses than Mixed Bloods and Mixed Bloods more high misdemeanors than Full Bloods.

15-17 Females

One of four offenses were committed by girls between the ages of 15 through 17 and offenses committed by this age group accounted for 78% of all female offenses. The most frequent offenses were petty offenses (49%) and 40% low misdemeanors and 11% high misdemeanors. The most common offenses were disorderly conduct (30%), truancy (28%), curfew violation (18%), malicious mischief (9%) and assault and battery (8%).

Full Bloods in this age group committed the majority of offenses (62%) and accounted for 80% of Full Blood female offenses. Mixed Bloods committed 38% of offenses in this group and accounted for 76% of all Mixed Blood female offenses. Full Blood girls committed more of the high misdemeanors - most of them being assault charges (10 cases of assault and battery and 2 cases of assault with a deadly weapon). Mixed Bloods committed more petty offenses than did Full Bloods.

Male - Female

Males of all age groups accounted for 68% of all offenses: for 62% of all petty offenses, 73% of all low misdemeanors and 70% of all high misdemeanors. The most common offenses of males were disorderly conduct (23%), truancy (21%), curfew violation (13%), malicious mischief (13%) and theft (11%).

Females committed 32% of all offenses and accounted for 38% of all petty offenses, 27% of all low misdemeanors and 30% of all high misdemeanors. The most frequent offenses committed by girls were: truancy (31%), disorderly conduct (29%), curfew violation (21%), malicious mischief (10%) and assault and battery (6%).

Several differences are apparent between male and female offenses. Males become offenders at an earlier age than females. There are no female offenders in the 5-9 age group. 78% of all female offenses were committed by girls in the 15-17 age group in comparison to 69% of the males. Also, females committed less serious offenses than males. Of all offenses committed by females, 52% are petty offenses, 40% low misdemeanors and 8% high misdemeanors. Among males, 40% of all offenses are petty offenses, 51% low misdemeanors and 9% high misdemeanors. Interestingly enough, however, there is little difference in the high misdemeanor category between males and females.

In the type of offenses committed, a higher percentage of female than male offenses were concerned with truancy, disorderly conduct, curfew violation and assault and battery. A higher percentage of male offenses involved malicious mischief and theft.

Ethnic Group

There were no differences between the two ethnic groups in regard to number of offenses committed. There was, however, a slight difference in regard to types of offenses. Mixed Bloods committed 50% of all petty offenses, 49% of all low misdemeanors and 58% of all high misdemeanors. Of all offenses committed by Mixed Bloods, the most frequent were: disorderly conduct (23%), truancy (23%), curfew violation (15%), malicious mischief (11%), theft (8%), and assault and battery (3%). Among Full Bloods, the most common offenses were: disorderly conduct (26%), truancy (25%), curfew violation (15%), malicious mischief (13%), theft (7%), and assault and battery (5%).

Mixed Bloods apparently begin to commit offenses at an earlier age than Full Bloods and (see above) commit a slightly higher percentage of more serious offenses. Of the total Mixed Blood offenses, 32% were committed by children under 15 years of age. Among Full Bloods, 24% of the offenses were committed by children under 15 years of age.

In conclusion, we present a frequency table of offenses by sex, age and ethnic groups.

OFFENSES BY AGE, SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP

Group	% of Total Offenses Committed
Mixed Blood Male - 15-17 years	24.5
Full Blood Male - 15-17 years	22.1
Full Blood Female - 15-17 years	15.7
Mixed Blood Male - 10-14 years	11.9
Mixed Blood Female - 15-17 years	9.5
Full Blood Male - 10-14 years	6.6
Full Blood Female - 10-14 years	4.0
Mixed Blood Female - 10-14 years	3.0
Mixed Blood Male - 5-9 years	1.4
Full Blood Male - 5-9 years	1.3

JUVENILE OFFENDERS

Rate of Juvenile Offenders

How prevalent are juvenile offenders among the Pine Ridge Reservation Indians? The following table will answer this question by listing the number of juvenile offenders in 1967 by age and sex and by giving the percentage of juvenile offenders for each age and sex category.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS BY AGE AND SEX

Age	No. of Males	% of Total Males in Age Group	No. of Females	% of Total Females in Age Group
5	1	.6		
6	1	.6		
7	4	2		
8	2	1		
9	7	5		
10	12	9	3	2
11	9	7	5	3
12	9	8	4	4
13	16	13	6	5
14	19	18	7	5
15	29	23	24	19
16	41	35	27	22
17	43	39	31	27

There are no comparable statistics, but it would seem that the rate of juvenile offenders was high: 39% of all 17 year old males and more than one out of four 17 year old females were involved in some kind of police action during a period of one year. The rate is also high among 15 and 16 year olds.

Sex, Age and Ethnic Characteristics of Juvenile Offenders

Of the 300 juvenile offenders over half (64.3%) were males and 35.7% females. Although here again, there are no comparable statistics, we know that in court cases, boys generally outnumber girls five to one. Later on, we shall see that girls in the 15-17 age group form an even higher proportion of the offenders. Apparently, a higher percentage of girls are offenders in this population than in the general U.S. population but this is not known for certain.

The majority of the offenders in 1967 were adolescents in the 15-17 years age group (65%). 30% of the offenders were 10-14 years of age and 5% were 5-9 years old. Combining the characteristics of sex and age groups one finds the following distribution of offenders:

Male	15-17 years	37.7%
Female	15-17 years	27.3%
Male	10-14 years	21.7%
Female	10-14 years	8.3%
Male	5-9 years	5.0%

The number of offenders increased with age, the highest number were found among 17 year olds (74). This is especially evident among girls. There are no female offenders in the 5-9 age group and girls comprise only 28% of the 10-14 age group, but this increases to 42.1% in the 15-17 age group.

As regards ethnic group, one finds that a slightly higher percentage of Full Bloods (52.7%) were juvenile offenders. Combining the characteristics of sex, age and ethnic group, the distribution of offenders was as follows:

JUVENILE OFFENDERS BY SEX, AGE AND ETHNIC GROUP

Sex	Ethnic Group	Age	Number	% of Total Offenders
Male	Full Blood	15-17	58	19.3
Male	Mixed Blood	15-17	55	18.3
Female	Full Blood	15-17	54	18.0
Male	Mixed Blood	10-14	38	12.7
Female	Mixed Blood	15-17	28	9.3
Male	Full Blood	10-14	27	9.0
Female	Full Blood	10-14	13	4.3
Female	Mixed Blood	10-14	12	4.0
Male	Mixed Blood	5-9	9	3.0
Male	Full Blood	5-9	6	2.0

N=300

It is interesting to note that among Full Bloods in the 15-17 age group, the number of males and females was almost equal. Male Mixed Bloods and male and female Full Bloods in the 15-17 age group contributed almost equally to the total number of offenders.

The number of male Mixed Bloods in the 10-14 age group exceeded not only the male Full Bloods in that age group, but female Mixed Bloods in the 15-17 age group as well. Among male offenders, there were more Mixed Bloods (52.8%) than Full Bloods; but among female offenders, there were more Full Bloods (62.6%) than Mixed Bloods.

CHARACTERISTICS OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS ACCORDING TO DEGREE AND NUMBER OF OFFENSES

It must be obvious from the above discussion that the degree of seriousness of offenses committed by juvenile offenders and the number of times booked for offenses vary considerably. In order to ascertain the degree of delinquency, each individual was scored according to the nature of the offense(s) committed and the number of times he or she committed a particular offense. Every petty offense was scored as 1, a minor misdemeanor as 2, a high misdemeanor as 4 and a felony as 8. Scores ranged from 1 to 29. The average delinquency scores for all offenders was 3.70. Males had a score of 4.03, and females 3.17; Mixed Bloods 3.97 and Full Bloods 3.45.

Following is a table of mean scores by sex, age and ethnic group in order of highest to lowest:

Group		Score
Mixed Blood Males	15-17 years	5.53
Full Blood Males	15-17 years	4.24
Mixed Blood Females	15-17 years	3.46
Full Blood Females	15-17 years	3.37
Mixed Blood Males	10-14 years	3.29
Full Blood Females	10-14 years	2.69
Full Blood Males	10-14 years	2.52
Full Blood Males	5-9 years	2.33
Mixed Blood Females	10-14 years	2.08
Mixed Blood Males	5-9 years	1.44

COMPARISON OF OFFENDERS AND NON-OFFENDERS

Introduction

In order to arrive at some possible causes of delinquency, various socio-economic characteristics of offenders were compared with non-offenders. In order to do this, 300 children who had not been booked for any offenses in 1967 were selected. The control group corresponded in age and sex to the offender group, but within these categories, the selection was on a random basis.

The offenders were separated into two groups: high offenders and low offenders. The high offenders were all of those with a delinquency score of 4 or higher and low offenders were those with a score of 3 or less. The minimum requirements for high offenders was having committed 4 petty offenses or 2 petty offenses and one low misdemeanor or two low misdemeanors or one high misdemeanor.

We thus have three groups to compare: high offenders, low offenders and non-offenders.

Sex, Age and Ethnic Group

In comparing high and low offenders, one finds that 69% of the high offenders were males in comparison to 41% of the low offenders. As expected from previous data, the male was more likely than the female to be a high offender. Also, as anticipated, the older the offender, the greater is the likelihood of his being a high offender: 78% of the high offenders were 15-17 years of age in comparison to 58% of the low offenders.

As regards ethnic group, there were no significant differences. 54% of the high offenders were Full Bloods. Full Bloods, however, are slightly over-represented in the offender group. In the control group, 46% are Full Bloods in comparison to 53% of the offender population. When one considers the three variables of sex, age and ethnic group, Mixed Blood males are over-represented among offenders in the 10-14 age group, and Full Blood males and females in the 15-17 age group. Following is a table of sex, age and ethnic characteristics by the three groups:

OFFENDERS AND NON-OFFENDERS BY SEX, AGE AND ETHNIC GROUP
Percentage Distribution

Age, Ethnic Group & Sex	High Offenders	Low Offenders	All Offenders	Non-Offenders
5-9 MBM		5	3	4
5-9 FBM	2	2	2	1
10-14 MBM	10	14	16	11
10-14 FBM	6	11	9	10
10-14 MBF	2	5	4	2
10-14 FBF	3	5	4	6
15-17 MBM	24	15	18	21
15-17 FBM	27	15	19	16
15-17 MBF	9	9	9	15
15-17 FBF	17	19	18	13
	N=107	N=193	N=300	N=300

Location of Residence

Of the offenders, 58.5% lived in a village in contrast to 48.6% of non-offenders. The offender is thus more likely than the non-offender to live in a village ($\chi^2 = 6.08 < .02$) but this may have been due to greater police surveillance in the village.

Almost half (45%) of the offenders came from Wakpamni district, compared to 32% of the non-offenders. Wakpamni district is thus over-represented as regards offenders and one can say that offenders are more likely than non-offenders to live in Wakpamni district ($\chi^2 = 12.45 < .001$). The only other district over-represented by offenders was Wounded Knee which accounted for 14% of the offenders and 10% of the non-offenders.

Overage for Grade

Apparently, there is no relationship between delinquency and being overage for one's grade. Among non-offenders, 41% were overage for their grade, among low offenders 40% and among high offenders 49%. A higher percentage of high offenders than the other two groups were overage but the difference was not statistically significant.

Parental Presence

Among non-offenders, 63% lived with both of their parents in contrast to 46% of the low and high offenders. The difference between the offender and non-offender groups is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 16.81 < .001$). In consequence, there is a relationship between parental presence and delinquency: the child who is not living with both parents is much more likely to be a juvenile offender than is the child who is living with both parents.

Furthermore, the non-offender was more likely to be living in a household composed of one complete nuclear family (40%) than was the offender (28%), ($\chi^2 = 8.60 < .01$). The size of the household in which the child was living was not, however, related to delinquency. The offender household was slightly smaller (average of 8.0 members) than the non-offender household (8.2 members).

Economic and Employment Status of Household

Among non-offenders, 59% came from households where the annual income was less than $3,000 (as reported by an adult in each household). This was in contrast to 69% of low offenders and 75% of high offenders. There is thus a greater likelihood that the offender will come from a household with an income of less than $3,000 than the non-offender ($\chi^2 = 4.70 < .05$), and an even greater likelihood that the high offender will be from a household where the income is less than $3,000 than the non-offender ($\chi^2 = 6.18 < .02$). There is thus a relationship between poverty and delinquency.

Also significant was the pattern of employment in the household. Among high offenders, 41% lived in households in which no one was working, in contrast to 28% of the low offenders and 20% of the non-offenders. This means that offenders, in general, are much more likely than non-offenders to come from households in which no one is working ($\chi^2 = 12.64 < .001$). Also high offenders are more likely than low offenders to live in households where no one is working. ($\chi^2 = 5.43 < .02$).

Summary and Conclusions

Mixed Blood males in the 15-17 age group had the highest delinquency score and committed the highest number of offenses, but the highest number of offenders was found among Full Blood males in the 15-17 age group.

Females had lower scores and committed fewer offenses than males, but accounted for 42% of the offenders in the 15-17 age group. Girls apparently begin to commit offenses at a later age than boys and committed less serious offenses. However, the number of Full Blood female offenders in 15-17 age group almost equaled the number of Full Blood male offenders.

Also, more Mixed Bloods started to commit offenses at an earlier age than Full Bloods, but committed less serious offenses. In the older age groups (over age nine), the Mixed Bloods committed more serious offenses and had higher delinquency scores than did Full Bloods.

In a comparison of offenders with non-offenders it was found that various socio-economic factors seemed to contribute to delinquency and that those factors were quite similar to those in other delinquent populations. One of the most significant factors was parental presence: over half of the offenders were not living with both of their parents. Family and employment situations also were less significant but important. More juvenile offenders than non-offenders were from households where an income was reported to be under $3,000 and a significantly higher percentage of offenders came from households where no one was working.

CHILDREN IN THE HOSPITAL, A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND ITS APPLICATION TO THE OGLALA SIOUX

Hospitalized children have been the subject of much concern and study for a considerable length of time. In this paper I would like to review some pertinent literature related to the effects of hospitalization on children and the child's perception of hospitalization.

Sense of Helplessness

During a hospitalization the usual line of thought has been that it is out of ugly necessity, a period that the child must regress and there is no emotional growth. A concern for the welfare of the total child requires not only preventing and neutralizing the possible traumatic effects of hospitalization, but also trying to discharge children from the hospital in a stronger condition emotionally as well as physically. The child needs to be helped to develop effective mechanisms to cope with the crisis of hospitalization.

One of the most striking sensations that affects most patients whether adult or child is the sense of helplessness that often overwhelms the patient when brought into the hospital. As in the case of an adult, the child becomes a passive participant in the hospitalization. He undergoes the indignities of being exposed to nurse and doctor regardless of sex. He is dressed, undressed, fed, cleaned, washed, helped with urination and defecation, turned from one side to the other; all of which he has attempted to master as part of the maturation process.

Especially important to this element of helplessness is recognition of the child's struggle prior to admission to the hospital. The mastery of self-care and self-control are significant steps in a child's ego functioning. A loss of these abilities, whether by nursing procedures or bodily weakness is also a loss in ego control. The result may be that these newly acquired abilities are harshly defended and therefore the child becomes an "impossible" patient or he may slip back into a state of helpless infancy. The more recently gained ego achievements are usually the first lost.

Influence of Previous Attitudes and Beliefs

The attitude that a child comes to the hospital with often not only affects his behavior in the hospital but often his course of illness. He may feel that the illness is part of some retribution. There often is in many children's minds a firmly held belief that illness is self-induced or brought upon one's self by one's own actions and behavior. Sickness may be seen as a well-deserved punishment for all sorts of badness: disobedience, disregard of rules, neglect of prohibitions, bodily abuse, etc. Parental warning against foolhardiness and self-indulgence, cautionary tales, and religious teachings about sin and retribution, whenever they occur, give authoritative backing to these convictions which are rooted in guilt about common sexual aggressive impulses of childhood and their discharge in masturbation. While such mistaken notions, even though upsetting, may remain of minor significance to the bodily healthy child, they become important to the severely ill child since they sap the child's strength to fight his disease by creating a masochistic and morbidly accepting attitude toward suffering.

In the fantasies derived from outside sources, there are children in whose lives medical visits have been rare occurrences, experienced by parents and child as a necessary evil. Such mothers usually feared being blamed by the medical authorities for some negligence or general lack of care and their children often feel guilty for having caused damage to their bodies and expect to be found out and punished when examined. These children will carry their former attitudes into the hospital to the detriment of their relations with the medical staff toward whom they remain for long periods aloof or hostile, frightened or distrustful. (1. p. 36).

Study of differences in reaction to pain reveals as different not the actual bodily experience of pain but the degree to which the pain is charged with psychic meaning. Children are apt to ascribe to outside or internalized agencies whatever painful process occurs inside the body or whatever hurt happens to the body. Thus, so far as his own interpretation is concerned, the child in pain is a child maltreated, harmed, punished, persecuted, threatened by annihilation. The "tough" child "does not mind pain," not because he feels less or is more courageous in the real sense of the word, but because in his case latent unconscious fantasies are less dominant and therefore less apt to be connected with the pain. Where anxiety derived from fantasy plays a minor part or no part at all, even severe pain is borne well and forgotten easily. (2. p. 76).

Responses vary in kind and in intensity according to the age and stage of development of the child. Up to six months of age the infant has a brief upset from the change in environment, separation not being as significant as after this age when the mother comes to be known as an individual figure.

Under five years, the child lacks the verbal ability, sense of time and understanding of the reasons for the procedures that a school age child possesses, so that he is apt to have more severe prolonged reactions. He is less able to assess reality or express himself as actively as the school age child. In boys, four to six, the fear of bodily mutilation is pronounced. Adolescents have a special problem during illness: being sensitive about their normal strivings toward independence.

When exposed to medical treatment, some children express anxiety and resentment openly: cry, scream, refuse treatment as well as consolation. Often, as they observe procedures performed on other patients, they will watch in terror suspecting that all painful procedures will be performed on them. In a study by Thesi Bergman, it was recognized as necessary to arrange for privacy where the upset could be allowed to run it's full course with the presence of some comforting person. Surprisingly, in time, these same children became the most accepting of medical care and the limitations that were set upon them. The reaction was as if the unrestrained discharge of fear, despair and rage had also left the child free to cope with the situation by more positive means.

As striking contrast to these so called "noisy" children are the "perfect" child patients; these are children who appear to submit to the experience of hospitalization with quiet resignation. Their behavior is often cheerful, understanding and co-operative. It has been observed that these same children didn't face up to the overwhelming feelings evoked by their situation and that they used all their available energy to defend themselves against danger, anxieties and frightening fantasies. Such defenses can and will break down after the immediate danger is removed. The delayed emotional reaction can be severe, often incapacitating the patient.

As much as the child's emotional climate prior to hospitalization affects his behavior, so too, does the climate during the hospitalization from his mother. The ill child may well find himself more loved and fondled than at any other time of his life. He may be in sole possession of his mother's time and care for the first time in his life.

The danger in this seemingly good situation is that the mother, both during the hospitalization and in the home during recuperation, may suspend all consideration of discipline and good behavior and indulge the child's wishes to an extreme.

This great change in attitude towards the child is a traumatic experience for the child. He may feel bewildered by the upsetting of formerly immovable emotional or moral standards and unable to renounce the incidental emotional gains after gaining a healthy state.

Preparation of the Child

While some authors have attempted to set limits on age for preparation of the child, a reasonable guide is to attempt to prepare the child, at his level, from one year and over. Depending upon his age, an honest account of the anticipated events can help the child maintain his trust in parents and remove some of the strangeness from these events. Particularly useful with children from four to eight years old is the possibility of asking the questions that may be troubling each of them at a time neither too near or too far from the event.

By deciding on the length of preparation time before an operation, two factors have to be taken into account. A preparation period which is too lengthy leaves too much room for the spreading out of id fantasies; where the interval between knowledge and performance of operation is too short, the ego has insufficient time for preparing its' defenses.

One unusual example of preparation that is extremely helpful in an area where there are organized headstart programs and a low level of medical sophistication is the practice of bringing nursery school-age children to the hospital. At the Children's Hospital of the East Bay in Oakland, California, visits by nursery-age children are encouraged. The children are given a tour and a treat, and if any must subsequently be hospitalized, they appear to adjust more easily to the ward.

A word about operations and medications; the child, because of lack of growth, is unable to distinguish between feelings of suffering caused by the disease inside the body and suffering imposed on him from the outside for the sake of curing the disease. Much like the concept of pain discussed earlier, the surgeon's actions, from minor surgery to major operations, is interpreted by the child in terms of his level of instinctive development or in regressive terms. What the experience means in his life therefore does not depend on the type or seriousness of the operation which has been actually performed, but on the type and depth of the fantasies aroused by it.

For some children the taking of medication presents a major difficulty. Although the bad taste or the smell of the drug is in the foreground as far as conscious reasons are concerned, analytic investigation has shown that behind such rationalizations is the repressed idea of being attacked by the mother through the symbol of the drug. Such medications as laxatives which force the bowels to move although the child intends otherwise may form the connecting link between the unconscious and reality. (2. p. 74).

Dealing with Trauma

Strength to deal with the trauma of hospitalization is not always from within and brought forth from unknown sources. Of all possible outside sources of strength, the first and foremost would be those of a tangible and visible nature such as orthopedic devices. There is no mystery anywhere about them especially if information is given correctly. The very concreteness serves as reassurance and helps to keep fantasies and unrealistic anxieties in check.

Strength is also derived from the group situation, i.e., from realization that theirs is a common lot, that all of them had to submit to the same or similar restrictions.

Where there is no "disability" but rather the child is "ill", i.e., such as a cardiac patient, the group has little effect as it did when there was a common tie between the patients.

The very vagueness of the condition and its' difficulty in translation to children lends itself to arousal of fears and fantasies. This type of patient is less likely to demonstrate and exhibit his discomfort but rather insists all is well with him. For example, if not properly handled, the body and heartbeat could replace important people in the outside world and withdrawal can follow.

Importance of Mother During the Hospital Stay

"It is paradoxical that when a young child needs his mother most, when he is ill and perhaps in pain, she is generally not allowed to be with him for more than brief visits." (4. p. 410).

The great majority of children of about 18-36 months respond to loss of their mothers, such as occurs when a child goes to a residential nursery or hospital, by protesting for the return of their mothers. This phase of protest, however, never continues indefinitely. Sooner or later as despair grips the child, a new response gathers momentum - one of denying the need for mother - a response in which repression is playing a large part.

The two most common responses of a child being separated from the mother at age 18-36 months are: (1) an intense clinging to the mother - which can continue for weeks, months or years; and, (2) a rejection of the mother as a love object, which may be temporary or permanent. Her permanent rejection, though dramatic and extremely serious, is fortunately rare. (3. p. 83).

Responses to the father while the child is hospitalized are likely to be more positive than to the mother. It is probably that the intensity of need for the father in time of illness is less great and so also is the pain of frustration. In consequence, the intensity of the conflict set up by separation from him is less.

Solnit has described the therapeutic uses of admitting mother and child together, especially for helping the child master separation anxieties, bodily self-control or ambivalent feeling toward parents. Feeding problems resulting from disorders of parent-child relationships can be observed and treated more readily in a therapeutic setting.

The pediatric units that allow a mother to live in with her ill child greatly increase the staff's opportunities to observe the mother-child relationship and increase the mother-staff contacts. Sometimes this increased contact can be helpful in other ways - when the mother feeds, watches and comforts the child or helps another mother. Sometimes it can upset the staff, disrupt the child's medical treatment and cause serious management problems - when the mother is overly worried, too controlling, overly protective or excessively suspicious.

The hospital can, if it chooses, view such a situation not as a nuisance and an irritation but as an opportunity to attempt to alter a problem parent-child relationship. Not only can it encourage emotional growth but it can actively refuse to support growth defeating interactions.

Another advantage was proven at the Royal Aberdeen Hospital in Scotland when a mother-child admission policy was permitted and the average length of stay on the wing where this was practiced was shorter than the one where it wasn't.

On the more progressive wards play activities are permitted. Benefits of activity are several: children can be of significant help to one another if they are allowed mobility; and the change from passivity to activity allows a healthier coping. If he acknowledges his feeling and expresses them in play or talk, the child can learn to deal with his environment promptly and appropriately, and his growing maturity helps him cope better with future pain and frustration. Activity discourages repression and dependency, which although expected in limited amounts, may increase and complicate immediate adjustments and subsequent personality development.

Restriction of motor activity both during and after procedure often leads to a heightening of aggression. This pent-up aggression will appear as restlessness, heightened irritability and the use of bad language.

Restriction of movement carries with it strong feelings of punishment because over the ages being sent to bed or confinement to the room and going without food have been used by parents for punishment.

It is important to remember that a toddler, whose body has been completely in his mother's care, is unable to understand why this care should be relinquished by her just at the point when his need for it is greatest, why his distress needs to be increased by unfamiliar handling. No child under ages of 3 or 4 can therefore be expected to react positively to a nurse's intervention and co-operate with her. For the nurse or the playroom director this creates the anomalous situation that while complete devotion to a helpless patient is demanded of her no affectionate or even remotely grateful return is made by a youngster who regards her with hostility, resents her presence as usurping his own mother's place and rejects her efforts at giving comfort and consolation by persisting in unrelieved separation distress.

Hospitalization as a Positive Experience

It would be unfair to end this collection of thoughts by not including the idea that we usually think of a hospitalized child as being torn away suddenly from a severe and stable home environment and thrust into a new and frightening world. Sometimes the reverse is true. John Rose and Meyer Sonis have observed, as have most directly connected with a hospital, that the hospital can be a refuge from an intolerable home situation. It may be a relatively stress-free environment - a haven for the child while the disturbing home situation is being evaluated and hopefully brought into the line with more acceptable standards for the development of the child.

Applications to the Oglala Sioux

In reviewing the preceding material, it seems evident that there may be special application to the beneficiaries of the U.S. Public Health Service Hospital at Pine Ridge. Conveniently available at the time of the writing of this paper was information collected by Carl Mindell, M.D. on child-rearing practices of the Sioux people on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Because of differences in culture and child-rearing practices here and in the White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant society, I believe that some varied expectations can be drawn out that may be unique to our setting and possible to others similar to this one. I would like to suggest some expectations regarding Sioux children hospitalized:

(A) Anxiety caused by separation from the father is even more less pronounced in the Sioux culture. This is attributable to the fact that the Indian father intervenes in the care of the child only in the absence of a female or in an emergency, such as when the child may get burned. It appears that there is less contact between father and child than would be expected in the general national population.

(B) Feeding problems may be expected with the very young child while he is hospitalized. What in effect may be happening is the child's reaction to change of feeding habits. While the hospital may operate on a feeding schedule, the child is fed at home on an almost complete demand schedule. As a matter of fact, the only other time the child may be fed is to postpone his future demand. The conflict of change may reflect itself, therefore, in problem feeding.

(c) In the Full Blood family, particularly, when the grandmother is in the home, the child may experience separation anxiety from the grandmother, rather than the mother, as we would expect in the WASP society. Information on the child-rearing practices informs us that in the Full Blood family it is quite often the role of the grandmother to raise and discipline the children with the actual mother taking a secondary role and deferring to the wishes of the grandmother.

(D) There is the possibility that we can expect the age group around age fifteen to experience some difficulty with limit setting while in the hospital. The fact that the child in the Indian home at age fifteen is generally treated on the same level as the adult means that his decisions are accepted in the home as adult decisions and the conflict will arise when he is treated in the hospital as a fifteen year old adolescent rather than a fifteen year old capable of making decisions and having adult standards to live by.

(E) There is the expectation that the child may possibly be more aggressive towards the hospital staff. We find that in the Indian home aggression is more accepted against any except kin and close friends. It seems from the results of Dr. Mindell's survey that the outsider is considered on the same level as an enemy. The child may feel, therefore, that hospital staff, being unfamiliar and strange to him and even more threatening than what might be normally expected, would be an object of aggression.

(F) The child in the age group where he is mastering bowel and bladder control may feel confused by hospital expectations of cleanliness and their increased attention to his being soiled. The underlying fact behind this is that quite often the country child during warm weather would be permitted to run around without any pants or diapers on and that the child quite often if he should urinate on himself would be allowed to more or less "drip dry" rather than be changed, unless, he himself demands it.

(G) There is an expectation of more trauma regarding operations and sexually charged procedures. Due to the lack of emphasis in the home regarding the intellectual understanding of sex, the child without the formal intellectual understanding has more of an opportunity to develop increased fantasizing about the procedures that will be performed upon him than the child who has an understanding both emotionally and intellectually of his sexuality.

(H) We may expect that the male child will often be more confused about limits placed upon him than will the female child. The fact behind this is that in the Indian home there is less discipline placed upon the male child than there is upon the female child.

(I) There is a strong possibility of future problems over the trauma of hospitalization, because, as we noted earlier, the child should be allowed to express freely his fears and concerns when separated from others and with the support of others. However, we find that the standardized view of a child on the Reservation is one of a quiet and inexpressive child. This child is less able to express freely his fears, concerns and anxieties and therefore less able to cope with these fears at a later time.

(J) The child in the hospital, both due to the lack of mobility and to restrictions placed upon him by casts, etc., is likely here to have a lower frustration tolerance. This would be due primarily to the fact that in general Indian children are given what they demand and frustration tolerance is not developed to the extent that what we would expect in the WASP society.

(K) The child hospitalized here is more inclined to think of hospitalization as punishment than would be expected in the population in general, nationally. This is enforced in the Indian home by the mother scolding by hissing at the child in a very threatening way or with a threat of physical violence, such as, "someone would cut your ears off", if the child is bad. With this as background material, the hospitalized child is likely to view his hospitalization as punishment for some "bad" act he has performed prior to his illness or trauma.

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Medical Social Worker

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GAS AND GLUE SNIFFING AMONG THE SCHOOL AGE POPULATION

Introduction

The incidence of gas and glue sniffing among the Indian population of the Pine Ridge Reservation is not known, but it is surmised that 80-90% of the young people have experimented at least once with gas or glue. Out of these, a small number practice the habit regularly and even fewer become psychologically dependent on gas or glue sniffing. It is with the consistent users of gas or glue that we are concerned. Not only can the habit be harmful physically but its habitual use may be indicative of serious psychological problems.[1]

To learn more about gas and glue sniffing, 35 school children who were reported to practice gas or glue sniffing regularly were interviewed. The ages of the children ranged from nine to eighteen years. The respondents were asked various questions concerned with family background and a few psychological questions and for information and opinions about gas or glue sniffing.

To determine if there are differences between sniffers and nonsniffers, a control group of 35 school children who were not known to be gas or glue sniffers were also interviewed. The control group was selected to be representative as regards age, sex and grade; but within these categories was chosen on a random basis.

Comparison of Sniffers with Nonsniffers

In regard to parental presence, one finds that both parents are present in the homes of 57.1% of the alleged sniffers in comparison to 62.9% of the nonsniffers, but the difference is not statistically significant. However, 25.7% of the sniffers live with the mother only as compared to 5.7% of the nonsniffers and this difference is significant. ($<.05$).

There is also another difference of some significance ($<.05$) in the household composition of the two groups. Either the grandmother (25.7%), grandfather (11.4%) or both grandparents (8.6%) are present in the homes of the sniffers. Thus a total of 45.7% of the sniffers are living in households where a grandparent or grandparents are present and this is in contrast to 20% of the nonsniffers.

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[1] See Appendix to article.

From my own experience, I would like to offer a possible explanation for this difference. A grandparent is more lenient and this influences the grandchild to misbehave because he knows he will not be scolded by his parents. The grandparent will step in to defend the child. This may be one reason why there are more gas sniffers in homes where grandparents are present.

The average size of household is slightly smaller for nonsniffers (7.6) than for sniffers (7.9) and the average number of rooms in the nonsniffers house is 2.9 compared to 2.7 among sniffers. The nonsniffers have more siblings living in their household than the sniffers: 4.7 and 4.0 respectively.

Most of the sniffers (54.3%) live in a village in contrast to 34.2% of nonsniffers. The difference is, however, not statistically significant.

A slightly higher percentage of sniffers (65.7%) than nonsniffers (51.4%) are overage for grade, but again the difference is not a significant one.

General Characteristics of Gas or Glue Sniffers

The majority of sniffers are males (63%) and Full Blood (60%). Although the Full Bloods are slightly over-represented as compared to the control group (51% Full Blood), the difference between ethnic groups is not significant.

The average age of the sniffer is 13.3 years. When asked the age when started to use gas or glue, the answers ranged from five through fourteen years with an average age of 8.7 years.

Substance Used and Methods of Use

Gas and glue are the main substances used among sniffers. Gas (or lighter fluid) seems to be slightly more prevalent: 37.1% gas, 37.1% glue, 14.3% gas and glue and 11.4% lighter fluid. The reason for this is that gas or lighter fluid is more readily available at any time.

There are many different methods or ways of sniffing gas. The use of a ball of cotton or a rag is the first method. The cotton or rag is soaked with gas, balled up and put inside of your clenched hand, leaving a space between your thumb and forefinger and letting part of the cotton or rag show. Then placing your mouth over the open space, you take a deep breath, sucking in the fumes and vapor from the cotton or rag. This is repeated as many times as the person desires. Also, a person can drain gas into a jar or can and sniff on it from the hole. Another way is to place a rubber hose, or a rolled-up magazine or paper in the gas tank of a car and sniff from them.

Glue is used in a much different way. The most common method is putting some glue inside of a plastic bag or any bag for that matter. Then you put the opening of the bag over your nose and mouth, blowing air into the bag and then taking a deep breath of the air blown in to get the best effect. Another way is to put the glue on cotton. From talking to the kids, I found that this wasn't a good method. They said it tasted bad when it got into your mouth. Also, the smell remained longer than gas.

Nearly all sniffers (94.2%) practice the habit with a group simply because it's more fun: they can share their visions with one another, or because the group had gas or glue available.

Immediate Motivation for Initial Use of Gas or Glue

When sniffers were asked what started them using gas or glue, 51.4% answered that they were persuaded by friends or relatives and 22.9% said they did it because they saw other kids using it. Many of the sniffers were influenced by a group which was already oriented to those habits and passes them on to others who may be unwilling to start, sometimes using force on the younger and smaller ones who won't succumb to their desires and habits. Others take up the habit more easily and require no more than a few words of encouragement from the pushers.

The rest of the sample group had various reasons or excuses as to why they started to sniff gas or glue. Some did it out of curiosity or boredom or "for kicks".

Reactions to Gas and Glue Sniffing

The most prevalent reactions to gas and glue sniffing are "It makes me dizzy"(22.9%). Negative reactions were "It makes me feel bad"(2.9%) or "Makes me sick" (2.9%).

A fairly high percent (20.0%) said that they see visions: "Made me see things like snakes and all kinds of designs," "See a boat in the water, then all at once it's on land. See witches and cars going off cliffs and airplanes flying all over the place. See bean shooters all over."

Other reactions to sniffing were, "Makes you feel good," "makes you drunk" and you blank out. One boy said that it makes you want to fight, "makes you feel real tall."

Positive and Negative Aspects of Sniffing

The sample was asked what were the best and worst things about sniffing. The majority were unable or reluctant to say anything positive and 14.3% said there wasn't anything "best" about sniffing gas or glue. 11.4% stated that the visions were the best thing and 5.7% said that it makes you forget your worries.

The sniffers were more articulate in regard to the worst thing about gas or glue sniffing, but the answers were extremely varied. The worst thing about sniffing according to respondents were as follows: 14.6% getting gas or glue into your mouth or nose or swallowing it, 11.4% getting sick, 8.6% because it could kill you, 8.6% seeing bad visions, and 8.6% getting caught. The rest had a variety of answers such as affects the brain, hurts your throat, gets you into trouble, gets you into fights, could go crazy, and blanks out.

Most of the sample (86%) claimed that they are no longer using either gas or glue and only three sniffers said they could not get along without the use of one or both substances. Those who said they are not at the present time using gas or glue were asked what made them stop using gas or glue. The following reasons were given for having stopped: parents told me not to do it (16.7%), can kill you (16.7%), it's dangerous (10%), didn't like it (10%), gets you into trouble (10%), gives me a headache (7%), and affects health (7%). One respondent said he quit because he was hospitalized from gas sniffing. Thus over one-fourth (30%) claimed to have given up the habit because they felt it was dangerous in some way.

Attitudes Towards Gas and Glue Sniffing

When asked if they thought gas or glue sniffing was dangerous, 94.2% answered "yes". Only one replied "no" and one refused to answer the question.

When asked why they thought the habit was dangerous, the most frequent replies were: it could kill you (31.4%), affects brain (20%), become crazy (11.4%), bad for your health (5.7%), and could cause a fire or explosion (5.7%). The nonsniffers' replies were very similar to those of the sniffers.

Both the sniffers and those of the control group were asked if they had ever known anyone with a dangerous reaction to gas or glue. 45.7% of the sniffers said "yes" as compared to 20% of the nonsniffers. When asked what happened, the sniffers' replies were the following: ran around (like a crazy person) (14.3%), tried to kill or hurt someone (8.6%), went crazy (5.7%), had a bad vision (5.7%), died (2.9%), caused an explosion (2.9%) and was shaking (2.9%).

Only 11.4% of the sniffers and 5.7% of the nonsniffers said they thought it was O.K. for a grown man to sniff gas or glue. According to the respondents, the main reasons grown men should not use gas or glue are because it might kill you, should know better and affects the brain.

Only one sniffer and no nonsniffer said it was O.K. for grown women to use gas or glue. Gas and glue sniffing among women is bad for the same reasons as among men except that a few felt that this might damage an unborn child.

More sniffers (25.7%) than nonsniffers (2.9%) said that it is O.K. for boys to be gas or glue sniffers, but only 8.6% of the sniffers and none of the control group said it is O.K. for girls to use gas or glue. The reasons given for it not being O.K. for boys or girls to be gas sniffers were very similar to the reasons given for it being bad for grown men and women.

It is interesting that sniffers as well as nonsniffers express generally negative attitudes towards the practice. Having been involved in gas or glue sniffing, more sniffers have been involved in gas or glue sniffing, more sniffers have witnesses bizarre or dangerous reactions. This must cause conflict among the sniffers who continue using gas or glue because of peer group pressure or as an escape and yet believe that the habit is a dangerous one.

Levi Mesteth, Jr.

APPENDIX

GASOLINE INHALATION, A PARTIAL REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

As a part of our study of gasoline inhalation we are reviewing the literature and a summary of the review to date follows.

1. Chemistry. Gasolines are a complex mixture of hydrocarbons ranging from C-4 (Butane) to C-11. Most gasolines contain additives such as antiknock but the concentration is too low to contribute to the gasoline toxicity. Depending on the method the gasoline is used it's toxicity varies. Orally taken a lethal acute dose (that is the effect of a single ingestion) may vary from an ounce to one quart. The aspiration of liquid gasoline is highly hazardous, causing a chemical pneumonia. Inhalation of gas varies from slightly to moderately toxic while the irritation to eye or skin from the vapor may be non-irritating or moderately irritating. Some of the symptoms of toxicity are:

    1. Oral ingestion - irritation of mucous membranes of the throat, esophagus and stomach. Stimulation of the central nervous system (for example, convulsions) followed by depression. Of the highest importance here is cardiac rhythm irregularities.

    2. Aspiration - coughing, gagging, dyspnea with rapidly developing pulmonary edema followed by pneumonitis.

    3. Inhalation - irritation of the upper respiratory tract. Central nervous system stimulation followed by depression (for example, coma). Cardiac irregularities are especially dangerous here. It should be noted that two principal dangers include central nervous system depression and the possibility of ventricular fibrillation.

2. Other aspects of gasoline inhalation. It should be noted that almost all substances used for inhalation produce a degree of tolerance such that increasing quantities are necessary to produce the desired effect. Almost all of the substances seem to produce a psychedelic effect that is a mild distorting effect, secondly habituation that is with continued use it may produce psychological dependence and tolerance. It has been found that gasoline and naphtha may be responsible for sudden

death (perhaps secondary to ventriculation fibrillation). There is much less evidence on organic damage from toluene which is found in plastic glue. The most consistent finding especially with the use of glue inhalation has been white blood cells in the urine and a positive protein, the significance of which is unknown. These abnormalities disappear when the use of the solvent ceases. There has so far been no evidence of kidney damage, liver damage, or brain damage. There have been EEG findings similar to a delirium seen with people who have been acutely inhaling some substance. It has been noted in many of the studies that adult gasoline sniffers are virtually unknown. This has not been our experience. The literature includes symptoms of intoxication secondary to inhalation including anesthesia, hallucinations, confusion, lack of impulse control, blurred vision, incoordination, transitory tinnitus. Also delirium coma and convulsions.

The most popular substances used are gasoline and model airplane glue. There are many other substances used including paint thinner, lighter fluid, paint, nail polish remover, duplicating fluid and laundry marking pencils. All are soluble organic solvents and as such would be expected to pass the blood brain barrier rapidly. The detailed pathophysiology of inhalation of these substances is not known. As indicated above EEG's done during inhalation showed clear changes similar to those found in a delirium. Cases have been reported of chronic sniffing up to ten years without organic damage to the central nervous system, liver, kidneys or bone marrow. With regard to inhalation the age in the literature varies between 11 and 15 with the average around 13. The average duration of sniffing has been about one year. Boys sniff much more than girls, the ratio being 10 or 11 to 1. It has been noted that it is rare for sniffers to use narcotics. It also should be noted that there has been no evidence of a withdrawal syndrome but that deaths definitely have been associated with inhalation. As of 1965 there were nine reported cases of glue sniffing resulting in death and a number of deaths in which glue sniffing was an indirect cause. Six of the nine deaths however, seem to be directly due to the use of a plastic bag.

Our preliminary information here at Pine Ridge seems to indicate that gasoline inhalation may be a normal experimental stage that young children between the ages of 9 and 15 go through. We are currently of the opinion that among people who are inhaling gasoline at a later age that is, age 18 or 19 or above, their use of gasoline is a symptom of emotional problems which we have not yet categorized.

Carl Mindell, M.D.
Director

SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF NORMAL INDIAN ADOLESCENTS AND TWO GROUPS OF NON-INDIAN ADOLESCENTS*

If one is interested in understanding psychological problems and stresses in a population, one of the key groups to look at is the adolescent group. These are the individuals who are preparing to enter and entering adult life. Here on the Pine Ridge Reservation we have been especially interested in the adolescents. During 1966 and 1967, we began to interview normal adolescents using a structured interview with both closed and open ended questions. Each respondent was individually interviewed in private and was allowed to take as much time as necessary to answer. The average length of an interview was one hour. In order to delineate issues due to cultural status from those issues related to socio-economic status we felt it was necessary to contrast normal Indian adolescents with normal White adolescents from both poor and from more prosperous backgrounds. A random sampling of 50 Indian students representing 10% of the total high school population on the Reservation were interviewed. Two control groups of White students were chosen from four high schools in two different areas. Control Group I consists of 50 students from two high schools in a zone considered to be economically depressed. Control Group II consists of 50 students from two high schools in areas in which the majority of families enjoy an average income by United States standards. The areas are predominately agricultural, ranching, and farming being the major sources of income. When the economic status of the groups were rated as being high, medium high, medium, medium low or low; 84% of the Indian sample fell into the medium low or low status, 56% of Control Group I was in the medium low or low status while 36% of Control Group II was in the medium low or low status. The difference between the Indian group and Control Group I was significant at the .02 level, between the Indians and Control Group II significant at the .001 level and between Control Group I and Control Group II significant at the .05 level. We might note that 2% of the Indian sample fell into the medium high or high level while 8% of Control Group I did so and 28% of Control Group II were in the medium high to high economic status. In this report we will summarize three of the psychological aspects of the findings, namely the modal teenager in terms of fantasy material and the teenagers mental health and separation anxiety scores.

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*Based on data taken from a preliminary report of the Community Mental Health Program entitled "A Sociological and Psychological Study of Oglala Sioux and Non-Indian High School Students" (1967) and from other relevant research. This is the second of a series of three articles concerned with sources of stress among Indian high school students.

Although no such thing exists as a modal adolescent an attempt was made to summarize the fantasy material of each of the three groups. This would include looking at the adolescent's three wishes, animal identification and reasons for wanting to be a certain animal, early memories and dreams.

The Indian adolescent and the non-Indian poor control group and the non-Indian more prosperous control group adolescents were all interested in being mobile and free. They also wanted to be respected by others and to be found attractive to others. They also wanted to be strong or powerful. All three groups were strongly interested in having a lot of money and living in better housing. The Indian adolescents in general were much more ambivalent about going to school than were either of the non-Indian adolescent groups. The non-Indians were more involved in thinking about a good job than were the Indians. A striking difference was in the non-Indian interest in thinking about some ideal for the larger community within which they lived. That is, they were concerned with some good thing happening to the world at large. This is in contrast to the Indian adolescents whose concerns were much less frequently related to the world outside of their families. The Indian group was more frequently interested in living some place else than were either of the White groups. The Indian group and Control Group I were equally interested in hoping for the return of some meaningful person in contrast to Control Group II.

Both of the White Control Groups had more energy involved with concerns about aggression as reflected by their early memories and dreams, than did either the Mixed Blood or Full Blood Indians. More of the themes of the White adolescents were related to being the object of aggression either by oneself or others as well as being the subject of an aggressive act than were the Indian groups. On the other hand Mixed Blood Indian adolescents had more energy involved with ambivalence about being cared for and being independent than did either the Full Blood adolescents or either of the White Control Groups.

Let us turn now to mental health scores. We were interested in ascertaining the prevalence of mental illness in the sample population. We were aware of many of the pitfalls related to psychiatric case finding through survey methods.[1]

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[1] BLUM, R.H., "Case Identification and Psychiatric Epidemiology: Methods and Problems", Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, July 1962.

We decided to use Alexander Leighton s Health Opinion Survey (HOS) also called A Brief Mental Health Assessment Instrument.[2] It should be pointed out that the HCS relies heavily on psychophysiologic symptoms and economically poorer populations tend to express psychological stress more in physical symptoms.[3] The instrument was standardized at Pine Ridge by giving it to psychiatric patients and to normals. The criterion of validity was the correspondence of the HOS score with a psychiatric illness determined by psychiatric interview. The difference in scores was found to be significant (T=3.98). The HOS scores were as follows: Indian students 31.2, Control Group I, 28.8, and Control Group II 27.3. The higher score would tend to indicate a greater likelihood of psychological distress. The difference between the Indian and Control Group I students was significant only at the .05 level, while it was significant at the .01 level between Indian and non-Indian students as a whole. It would appear, however, that economic factors may well be influencing the scores because White students from the most economically depressed zone (one of the high school included in Control Group I) have an HOS score of 30 which is not significantly lower than the Indian students' scores. When we considered just the Indian students we found no significant differences between Mixed Bloods and Full Bloods. The only correlations (significant at the .05 level) concerned parental presence and the number of siblings. The higher mental health scores (meaning a greater likelihood of psychological distress) are found among students who have one or both biological parents missing from the home and amongst those students who have less than six siblings. These two factors however, are related as all of the students who have six or more siblings are living with both parents.

The degree of separation anxiety was calculated for each student in the three groups. This was done by weighting the replies to all questions in the survey which may have indicated separation anxiety. They were weighted according to whether the answer showed strong or moderate anxiety and each student was then given a score. The higher the score the higher the concerns about separation. For example, in one question the students were asked where they were the happiest, at home, with friends, by oneself, etc. 51% of the Indian students stated they were happiest when at home. This was in contrast to 31% of Control Group I and 26% of Control Group II. When asked how they felt when away from their mother or mother's surrogate, 59.5% of the Indian students and 45.9% of Control Group I students indicated that they missed their mother a great deal. Only 28.6% of Control Group II students showed a high degree of missing their mother. This same pattern was evident in regard to missing their father but to a lesser degree. 44.2% of Indian students, 41.8% of Control Group I students, and 24.2% of Control Group II students said that they missed their father when away from him. Some examples of early memories which showed concern with abandonment are, "When my aunt got drunk and tried to take me away from my mom and I was crying", "When my father died and I was crying and everybody else was crying", "When my mom went to the hospital to have my brother, the babysitter was mean, I missed my mother". The separation anxiety scores ranged from 0-44. The mean scores for the three groups were as follows: Indian students 17.8, Control Group I students 15.6, and Control Group II students 11.8.

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[2] LEIGHTON, Alexander, et al Basic Books, 1963, The Character of Danger, Chapter 7.

[3] CRANDEL and DOHRENWEND, "Some Relations Among Psychiatric Symptoms Organic Illness and Social Class", American Journal of Psychiatry, Vol. 123, No. 12, June 1967.

The difference between the scores of the Indian and Control Group I students is not significant, the difference between the scores of the Indian and Control Group II students is significant at .01 level. The difference between Control Group I and Control Group II students was also significant at the .05 level.

We should note that there was no significant difference in separation anxiety scores between Indian day and boarding school students. Separation anxiety was correlated, however, with the presence of parents. This was significant at the .01 level. Separation anxiety was also correlated with economic status in the direction of a higher separation anxiety score with increasing poverty. This was significant at the .02 level.

Comments: We should note that although we attempted to match the Indian adolescent group with a Control Group of poor and more prosperous non-Indians that it is very difficult to find a non-Indian group which can match the Indians poverty. In many of the adolescents wishes there were no differences at all between the groups. It is of interest that the White adolescents were more interested in a good job than were the Indian adolescents. This may well reflect the fact that job opportunities are greater for the non-Indian adolescents in their geographic areas than for the Indians. The Indian teenagers and Control Group I were more concerned about the return of an important person than were teenagers in Control Group II. Parents are missing from the Indian students' family much more frequently than in either of the two control groups. In Control Group I there are somewhat more parents missing from the students' family than in Control Group II. It is of interest that the Indians were much less interested in some ideal for the world than were either of the White control groups. Oscar Lewis in his comments on the culture of poverty has remarked on how poor people tend to be less interested in the outside world which is more often seen as strange and alien, that there is a lack of relatedness to the outside world. The degree of ambivalence among the Indian students towards schooling is striking and this has been commented on in a previous paper.[4] It is of interest that the Indian students appear to have less energy tied up at least in fantasy with themes of aggression than do the White students and as indicated earlier this holds true for both themes related to being the subject of aggression as well as to being the object of aggression. This is the opposite of what we expected to find in as much as we have thought that the Sioux generally tend to deal with aggression in a more indirect fashion than do non-Indians and would hypothesize that much of their fantasy would be tied up with themes related to aggression. Certainly one striking feature related to aggression was that the White teenager generally had more fantasies related to being the subject of an aggressive act (rather than the object of aggression) than did the Indian teenagers. That the Mixed Blood adolescents have more energy tied up with issues related to dependence-independence than do Full Blood Indians or either of the White control groups is striking and may reflect other data which seems to indicate that Mixed Bloods in general tend to move toward a more acculturated position; for example, less bilingualism, higher education levels, higher employment levels.

A striking finding is related to the importance of the presence of the adolescent's parents. Originally we had thought that the presence of nuclear family, especially parents, would not be as important to an Indian child where the extended family is usually available as it would be to a White child. Our data, however, does not bear this out but rather indicates that the pressure of the nuclear parents is of equal importance to both White and Indian children. We note here that the separation anxiety which we were measuring in our study is a gross term which probably includes both separation anxieties related to ambivalence toward parent figures as well as separation anxieties related to feelings of weakness in terms of being able to stand alone without being closely attached to another person. Separation anxieties were unrelated to ethnic group but were significantly related to parent presence and economic status. This is an important finding which reflects the importance of looking at socioeconomic factors in doing studies of Indians rather than looking only at Indian-White differences. We also want to emphasize here the importance in our findings of the relationship of parent presence to economic status, which has been noted in other studies.

Carl Mindell, M.D.
Director

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4. Pine Ridge Research Bulletin No. 1, "Ambivalence Toward Education Among Indian High School Students."

PINE RIDGE RESEARCH BULLETIN

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
DIVISION OF INDIAN HEALTH
COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM

Paul E. Moss, Acting Director
PHS/Pine Ridge Service Unit

Carl Mindell, M.D.
CMHP, Director

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OGLALA SIOUX FAMILY ORGANIZATION, A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

PART I

MARITAL STATUS AND FAMILY ORGANIZATION, ADULT POPULATION

Marital Status and Ethnic Group

The statistics on marital status and family organization reveal significant differences between ethnic groups and deviate dramatically from those of the general U.S. population. Our data seems to indicate increasing instability of the conjugal unit. First, let us look at the statistics on marital status.

Table 1

MARITAL STATUS BY SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP
(Persons 14 Years and Over)
Percentage Distribution

	Mixed Blood		Full Blood		Indian		Non-Indian	
Marital Status	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Single	41.3	32.9	38.9	31.5	40.0	32.2	27.7	22.2
Married	51.3	53.2	50.8	54.5	51.1	53.9	68.5	67.2
Widowed	2.9	7.8	5.6	8.6	4.3	8.2	2.3	9.4
Divorced	4.5	6.1	4.7	5.3	4.6	5.7	1.5	1.2
Total Number	1325	1287	1411	1483	2736	2770	1235	1214
Married - Not Separated	95.6	90.9	93.2	88.9	94.3	90.5	99.3	98.8
Married - Separated	4.4	9.1	6.8	11.1	5.7	9.5	.7	1.2
Total Number	680	685	717	808	1397	1493	846	816

Table 2

MARITAL STATUS OF RESERVATION POPULATION
IN COMPARISON TO U.S. WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATIONS
Percentage Distribution

	Males			
	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
Full Blood	38.9	50.8	5.6	4.7
Mixed Blood	41.3	51.3	2.9	4.5
Indian - PR	40.0	51.1	4.3	4.6
Non-Indian - PR	27.7	68.5	2.3	1.5
U.S. White (1965)	25.9	68.8	3.2	2.1
U.S. Negro (1965)	31.9	61.1	3.9	3.1
		Females		
Full Blood	31.5	54.5	8.6	5.3
Mixed Blood	32.9	53.2	7.8	6.1
Indian - PR	32.2	53.9	8.2	5.7
Non-Indian - PR	22.2	67.2	9.4	1.2
U.S. White (1965)	20.4	64.4	12.4	2.8
U.S. Negro (1965)	23.0	59.5	13.4	4.1

A higher percentage (2.8% more) of Indian women than men are married, with a higher incidence of marriage found among Full Blood women. Among Indian men, a slightly higher percentage of Mixed Blood than Full Blood men are married. The married status is more prevalent among Non-Indians: 17.4% more of Non-Indian men than Indian men are married and 13.3% more of Non-Indian women than Indian women are married.

Among the married, only 3.3% of Indians and .2% of Non-Indians were reported to be living in a common-law relationship.

Of those who are married, a fairly high percent are separated, more than one out of ten Full Blood women and 9% of Mixed Blood women. More Full Blood than Mixed Blood males are separated. Separation from a spouse is thus slightly more prevalent among Full Bloods than Mixed Bloods. The separation of spouse does not necessarily mean a dissolution of the marriage. A quite common pattern among some couples is one of temporary separations followed by reconciliations.

The percentage of divorced Indian women is higher than that of the men, the highest rate of divorced persons being found among Mixed Blood women.

All groups, except that of the Non-Indians, have a higher percentage of divorced persons than in the general U.S. Negro and White populations. The percentage of divorced men among Indians (4.6%) is more than twice that of the national population (2.2% in 1965). The percentage of divorced Indian women (5.7%) is almost twice as high as for the national population (2.9%).

The incidence of widowhood among the Indians presents an interesting contrast to the U.S. general population. More women in the national population, (12.8%) than among the Indian women (8.2%) are widowed. This suggests that either Indian women remarry more frequently upon being widowed or that the death rate among Indian women is higher. In contrast, more Indian men (4.3%) than men in the national population (3.3%) are widowers. Again this may be due to a formerly higher death rate among Indian women or a greater likelihood of widows than widowers remarrying. The answer is probably a combination of the two factors. In the population of 55 years and older the sex ratio is 109.7 which seems to indicate that at least formerly there was a higher mortality rate among women.

The most significant differences in the marital status is found in the single status category. The high percentage of single individuals may be due to the large proportion of young people in this population. To test this explanation, the population was divided into age groups according to marital status and compared to the U.S. population.

Table 3

MARITAL STATUS OF RESERVATION POPULATION
BY SEX, AGE AND ETHNIC GROUP (1967) AS COMPARED
TO THE GENERAL U.S. POPULATION (1965)
Percentage Distribution

SEX AND AGE GROUP	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
Male				
14-19 years				
Full Blood	98.6	1.4	0	0
Mixed Blood	95.4	4.6	0	0
Total Indian	96.8	3.2	0	0
Non-Indian	99.4	.6	0	0
U.S.	97.4	2.5	0	0
20-24 years				
Full Blood	70.2	28.6	0	1.2
Mixed Blood	60.0	38.2	0	1.8
Total Indian	65.0	33.4	0	1.5
Non-Indian	64.1	35.9	0	0
U.S.	52.9	46.3	0	.7
25-29 years				
Full Blood	36.1	58.5	1.5	3.8
Mixed Blood	28.5	68.5	0	3.1
Total Indian	32.3	63.5	.8	3.5
Non-Indian	19.7	80.3	0	00
U.S.	17.2	81.1	.1	1.6
30-34 years				
Full Blood	29.4	64.2	.9	5.5
Mixed Blood	17.7	75.0	0	7.3
Total Indian	23.9	69.3	.5	6.3
Non-Indian	5.0	95.0	0	0
U.S.	11.3	86.2	.2	2.3
35-44 years				
Full Blood	18.3	72.9	.9	7.8
Mixed Blood	14.6	80.8	1.0	3.6
Total Indian	16.6	76.7	.9	5.8
Non-Indian	9.4	87.9	.9	1.8
U.S.	9.4	87.2	.5	2.9

SEX AND AGE GROUP	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
45-54 years				
Full Blood	8.1	78.0	4.1	9.8
Mixed Blood	5.7	81.6	.6	12.0
Total Indian	6.9	79.8	2.4	10.9
Non-Indian	6.5	90.8	1.1	1.6
U.S.	6.6	88.7	1.4	3.3
55-64 years				
Full Blood	5.9	74.5	11.1	8.5
Mixed Blood	3.2	76.9	6.3	13.7
Total Indian	4.8	75.4	9.3	10.5
Non-Indian	15.2	77.2	2.5	5.1
U.S.	8.4	83.8	4.4	3.5
65-74 years				
Full Blood	4.0	67.7	24.2	4.0
Mixed Blood	4.0	73.3	18.7	4.0
Total Indian	4.0	69.8	22.1	4.0
Non-Indian	11.3	79.1	6.1	3.5
U.S.	6.1	78.9	11.8	3.3
75 years and over				
Full Blood	9.1	52.7	36.4	1.8
Mixed Blood	2.4	52.4	35.7	9.5
Total Indian	6.2	52.6	36.1	5.1
Non-Indian	8.3	70.0	21.7	0
U.S.	7.6	57.1	34.0	1.3
Female				
14-19 years				
Full Blood	90.4	9.3	.3	0
Mixed Blood	92.3	7.4	0	.3
Total Indian	91.3	8.4	.1	.1
Non-Indian	94.5	5.5	0	0
U.S.	89.5	10.3	0	.2
20-24 years				
Full Blood	43.7	54.0	0	2.3
Mixed Blood	43.3	51.7	1.1	3.9
Total Indian	43.5	52.8	.6	3.1
Non-Indian	32.5	66.7	0	.8
U.S.	32.5	65.6	.3	1.6

SEX AND AGE GROUP	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
25-29 years				
Full Blood	20.9	68.7	3.7	6.7
Mixed Blood	17.0	77.3	.7	5.0
Total Indian	19.0	73.4	2.2	5.5
Non-Indian	9.2	89.2	.8	.8
U.S.	8.4	87.2	.8	3.6
30-34 years				
Full Blood	9.6	80.7	2.8	6.9
Mixed Blood	8.3	75.9	2.8	13.0
Total Indian	9.1	78.7	2.8	9.5
Non-Indian	10.9	89.1	0	0
U.S.	5.3	90.5	1.1	3.1
35-44 years				
Full Blood	6.9	81.1	3.7	8.3
Mixed Blood	5.5	80.9	3.1	10.5
Total Indian	6.3	81.0	3.4	9.2
Non-Indian	4.3	93.4	.9	1.4
U.S.	4.8	87.9	2.6	4.6
45-54 years				
Full Blood	4.9	77.8	6.5	10.8
Mixed Blood	.7	80.5	6.7	12.1
Total Indian	3.0	79.0	6.6	11.4
Non-Indian	6.6	81.3	9.6	2.4
U.S.	5.7	81.8	8.2	4.2
55-64 years				
Full Blood	2.0	68.0	21.8	8.2
Mixed Blood	0	67.0	19.1	13.8
Total Indian	1.2	67.6	20.7	10.4
Non-Indian	5.4	74.1	17.0	3.4
U.S.	7.8	66.8	21.6	3.8
65-74 years				
Full Blood	2.3	41.2	51.8	4.7
Mixed Blood	0	63.6	33.3	3.0
Total Indian	1.3	51.0	43.7	4.0
Non-Indian	5.4	63.1	30.6	.9
U.S.	7.5	45.7	44.4	2.4

SEX AND AGE GROUP	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced
75 years and over				
Full Blood	0	41.5	53.7	4.8
Mixed Blood	6.2	32.8	60.9	0
Total Indian	3.8	36.2	58.1	1.9
Non-Indian	6.7	33.3	60.0	0
U.S.	8.0	20.2	70.6	1.2

In the youngest age group, fewer Mixed Blood males but more Indian females than in the general U.S. population are single. However, among males from 20 through 44 years of age, the percentage of single men is much higher than in the general population. In the 45 years and older age group, there are fewer single male Indians than in the U.S. population. Among Indian females, more are single than in the U.S. population also up to 45 years of age. This suggests that fewer Indians in the younger age group are accepting the responsibilities of establishing families of procreation and that this in turn, would increase the likelihood of the formation of matrifocal families composed of single women with children.

Another interesting contrast is that the percentage of widowed females up to age 45 and widowed males in all groups is higher than in the general population. This indicates that the mortality rate is higher among Indian spouses up to age 45, perhaps due to higher accident rates among Indians.

Household Types

23.4% of Indian households and 15.3% of Non-Indian households have female heads. To compare percentage of female Indian household heads with U.S. White and Nonwhite households, the single person household head was eliminated and the results are as follows: White 9.1%, Indian 22.5% and Nonwhite 23.7%.

In the Reservation population, the incidence of female household heads among Indians and Non-Indians contrasts most sharply in the 20 through 44 year age group. In this age group, 20.7% of Indian households have female heads in contrast to 7.1% of Non-Indian households. In the older age groups, although a higher percentage of Indian than Non-Indian households have female heads; the differences are less dramatic because of an increase in widowhood, especially in the Non-Indian population.

A breakdown of household types provides us with an opportunity to ascertain the incidence of extended family units among the Indian population. Following is a table of household composition among the various ethnic groups on the Reservation. A complete nuclear family is a married couple or a married couple plus their children and an incomplete nuclear family is defined as a woman or man plus his or her children. The + sign indicates the presence of an extra relative or relatives who do not form a nuclear unit.

Table 4

HOUSEHOLD TYPES BY ETHNIC GROUP
Percentage Distribution

	Ethnic Groups			
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION	Mixed Blood	Full Blood	Indian	Non-Indian
Persons living alone	12.8	9.6	11.1	18.7
Complete nuclear family	45.1	32.9	38.7	69.7
Complete nuclear family +	8.4	10.3	9.4	2.8
Incomplete nuclear family	11.5	11.6	11.6	3.5
Incomplete nuclear family +	1.7	4.6	3.2	.3
2 or more complete nuclear families	2.1	2.6	2.4	.4
2 or more complete nuclear families +	.5	.6	.6	
2 or more incomplete nuclear families	1.2	2.0	1.6	.1
2 or more incomplete nuclear families +	.6	1.0	.8	
Mixture of complete and incomplete nuclear families	11.7	15.8	13.8	2.5
Mixture of complete and incomplete nuclear families +	2.3	5.8	4.1	.2
Other or not clear	2.1	3.3	2.7	1.8
Total households	836	919	1755	1096
Total single family households without extra relatives	56.6	44.5	50.2	73.2
Total multiple family households	18.4	27.7	23.3	3.2
Total single families with extra relatives	10.0	14.9	12.6	3.1
Total single and multiple family households with extra relatives	13.4	22.3	18.1	3.3

As is obvious, the most prevalent household type among all groups is the complete nuclear family. The incidence however, of this most common type of household varies significantly among groups. Only one-third of the Full Blood households are composed of a complete nuclear family in comparison to 45.1% of Mixed Blood households and 69.7% of Non-Indian households.

When one considers households containing a single family without the addition of extra relatives, one finds that over half of the Non-Indian and Mixed Blood households are of this type, but less than half of the Full Blood households. Over one-fourth of Full Blood households are of the multiple family type and 22.3% of households contain extra relatives.

The reasons for the high percentage of Indian households which contain extra relatives and families are: the survival of a cultural pattern of the importance of the extended family and moving in with relatives other than ones parents, the orphaning and abandonment of children, and a housing shortage which often makes it necessary for families to double-up. One cannot definitely say whether the high incidence of extended family households is due more to preference or to necessity. It must be remembered, however, that although in traditional Sioux social organization, the extended family was the most important social unit, the nuclear family was still the basic unit and it was customary for a married couple to live in a separate tipi pitched close to the parents of one of the spouses.

Family Type and Membership

In the Reservation population 16 years of age and over, one finds the following distribution of family membership.

Table 5

FAMILY MEMBERSHIP OF INDIVIDUALS BY ETHNIC GROUP
Persons 16 Years and Over

Family Membership	Mixed Blood	Full Blood	Indian	Non-Indian
Heads of nuclear families	36.8	37.4	37.2	38.9
Wife	26.5	27.3	26.9	34.9
Child	26.5	24.7	25.5	13.7
Not member of a nuclear family	10.0	10.6	10.3	12.4

N=7243

The most outstanding differences between Indians and Non-Indians is between the percentage of individuals who are living as members of their family of orientation. Almost 12% more Indians than Non-Indians 16 years and older have this type of family status. This is more true of Indian males than females, 30.8% of males and 20.4% of the females.

Also 8% more Non-Indians than Indians are wives in complete nuclear families. This again points up the greater prevalence of single person and matrifocal families in the Indian population.

The higher rate of persons in the Non-Indian population who are not members of a conjugal unit is due largely to a higher percentage of persons living alone and living in an institutional setting, i.e., Holy Rosary Mission.

Concentrating only on the nuclear family units we find that 71% of Indian families are complete nuclear families, 23.6% are matrifocal and 5.4% patrifocal. Among Non-Indian families 94.6% are complete nuclear families, 4.5% matrifocal and .9% patrifocal. The percentage of incomplete nuclear families among Indians (29.0%) is more than among U.S. Whites (11.4%) and slightly more than among U.S. Negroes (28%). Among urban slum dwellers however, it is estimated that 25% to 40% of the child-rearing units are matrifocal in character.[1] The high rate of matrifocal nuclear families among the Indians is not then out of proportion with a poor population.

Is the single parent family more prevalent among the older or younger generations? To answer this, we divided the types of families by age of family head with the following results.

Table 6

TYPES OF NUCLEAR FAMILIES
ACCORDING TO AGE AND ETHNIC GROUP OF FAMILY HEAD
Percentage Distribution

Sex and Family Type	Mixed Blood	Full Blood	Indian	Non-Indian
All Ages				
Complete nuclear	74.7	67.8	71.0	94.6
Matrifocal	21.9	25.0	23.6	4.5
Patrifocal	3.4	7.2	5.4	.9
16-24 years				
Complete nuclear	62.0	47.3	55.6	90.7
Matrifocal	37.2	48.4	42.1	9.3
Patrifocal	.8	4.3	2.3	
25-24 years				
Complete nuclear	70.0	60.7	65.4	97.4
Matrifocal	27.6	35.5	31.5	2.1
Patrifocal	2.4	3.8	3.1	.5
35-44 years				
Complete nuclear	82.8	70.4	76.3	92.7
Matrifocal	12.9	21.8	17.6	5.8
Patrifocal	4.3	7.8	6.1	1.5

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[1] Arthur Besner, "Economic Deprivation and Family Patterns" in Low Income Life Styles, edit by L. Irelan, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Division of Research, 1966, p. 21.

Sex and Family Type	Mixed Blood	Full Blood	Indian	Non-Indian
45-54 years				
Complete nuclear	79.4	75.0	77.1	93.3
Matrifocal	16.9	16.3	16.6	6.7
Patrifocal	3.7	8.7	6.3	
55-64 years				
Complete nuclear	76.7	74.0	75.0	92.2
Matrifocal	17.4	18.7	18.2	6.2
Patrifocal	5.9	7.3	6.8	1.6
65 years and over				
Complete nuclear	75.8	71.7	73.3	94.2
Matrifocal	20.2	17.1	18.3	4.3
Patrifocal	4.0	11.2	8.4	1.5

The complete nuclear family is predominant in all age levels, but a very high percentage of families whose heads are from 16 through 34 years of age are of the single parent type, almost half in the 16-24 year group. This may be an indication of the weakening of the conjugal unit, and seems to imply that family instability is increasing, but this cannot be proven without comparable statistics by age group for a prior period. It may be that single parent family heads will later stabilize the conjugal unit through marriage or remarriage.

Interestingly enough, the rate of patrifocal families increases steadily as the age of family heads increases.

Taking only the Indian heads of incomplete nuclear families, one finds that 45% are under 35 years of age, 51% of the female heads and 18% of the male heads. This implies that the single parent families in these age groups originated from a lack of one parent, not generally through death.

Now let us consider the characteristics of the female heads of incomplete nuclear families, 43.6% of whom are Mixed Bloods and 56.4% Full Bloods. How many are single parent heads of families through death of the husband, through separation or divorce or through being unmarried mothers? In the 16-24 age group, over half of the matrifocal family heads are single (55.7%). In the 25-34 year age groups, the matrifocal family originates largely from separation (40.6%), but over one-fourth of the heads are single. In the 55 and over group, matrifocal families result largely from widowhood.

Do the single female heads of nuclear families differ markedly from wives of complete nuclear families? To ascertain this we compared demographic characteristics among 89 single Indian women who are mothers with 178 married women who are living with their husbands and as far as we know have only been married once. The control group of married women was selected to be representative in age and ethnic group to the group of single mothers. It was found that there were no significant statistical differences between the groups, except in regard to educational level. The unmarried mothers have a much lower educational level than the married women, 16.5% are high school graduates in comparison to 35.8% of the married women. Interestingly enough, the fact of having lived most of ones childhood with both parents was not significant, more single mothers (72.4%) lived with both parents than did the married women (68.6%).

Relationship to Household Head

Table 7

RELATIONSHIP TO HOUSEHOLD HEAD BY SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP
Persons 16 Years and Over
Percentage Distribution
Male Population

Relationship To Household Head	Indian	Non-Indian
Household head	54.3	81.7
Son of HH or of wife of HH	33.0	15.6
Brother of HH or of wife	2.5	.6
Son-in-law of HH or of wife	2.4	.2
Grandson of HH or of wife	2.1	.3
Nephew of HH or of wife	1.5	.2
Father of HH or of wife	1.2	.4
Other	3.0	1.0
Female Population		
Wife of household head	46.6	71.5
Daughter of HH or of wife of HH	27.1	11.7
Household head	15.3	13.9
Granddaughter of HH or of wife	2.2	0
Daughter-in-law of HH or of wife	2.1	.5
Mother of HH or of wife	1.8	1.0
Sister of HH or of wife	1.5	.2
Niece of HH or of wife	1.2	.1
Other	2.2	1.1
	N=2528	N=1098

A lower percentage of Indian males than Non-Indian males have the formal status of household head and this is as true of Mixed Bloods as of Full Bloods. Also a higher proportion of younger Non-Indian than Indian men are household heads: 25.4% of Indian adult males under 35 years are household heads as compared to 57.3% of Non-Indian males. Although more Mixed Blood than Full Blood males are household heads in most age groups, there are more Full Blood than Mixed Blood male household heads in the 55-64 age group.

Twice as many Indian than Non-Indian men have the status of son within their household and this pertains almost equally to Full Blood and Mixed Blood males. Fewer Mixed Bloods in the 16-34 age group than Full Bloods, however, are sons. Thus while the proportion of household heads and sons of household heads is almost equal among Mixed Bloods and Full Bloods, the responsibility of household head is apparently assumed earlier by more Mixed Bloods. In the age group of 35 years and older, 8.2% of Indian males remain in the position of son as compared to 1.5% of Non-Indian males.

More Indian than Non-Indian men are sons-in-law in their household. Interestingly enough, a slightly higher percentage of Mixed Blood males (2.9%) than Full Blood males (2.0%) are sons-in-law, but a higher percentage of Full Blood (1.6%) than Mixed Blood (.7%) men are in the position of father or father-in-law in their household.

Among the women, a higher percentage of Non-Indian than Indian women are in the position of wife of household head. There is no difference between Mixed Blood and Full Blood women in this regard. The percentage of Indian women whose relationship to household head is one of wife falls behind Non-Indian women in the younger age groups especially. Under 45 years of age, 39.8% of the Indian women are wives to household heads in comparison to 73.4% of Non-Indian women. Over 44 years of age, however, 60.1% of the Indian women compared to 68.7% of Non-Indian women are wives. Again, this is a reflection of greater incidence of extended family households, matrifocal families and single marital status among Indians.

A higher proportion of Indian than Non-Indian women have the household status of daughter, a slightly higher percentage of Full Blood (28.2%) than Mixed Blood (26.1%) women. Among females 35 years and older, 3.5% of Indian women compared to .5% of Non-Indian women are in the position of daughter to household head.

A slightly higher percentage of Indian than Non-Indian women are household heads. The difference between the two groups is that Indian women in the younger age groups are more likely than Non-Indian women to be household heads. It is not until age 45 that a large percentage of Non-Indian women become household heads, mostly through widowhood.

Almost the same percentage of Indian women are daughters-in-law as Indian men are sons-in-law, showing that there is no cultural preference for either matrilocality or patrilocality.

Of the total Indian nuclear family heads (1464), 79.2% are also household heads as compared to 98.3% of Non-Indian family heads (867). Thus, 20.8% of nuclear family heads among Indians are living in households in which they are not household heads. This is more true of incomplete family heads than of complete family heads. Only 12% of complete nuclear family heads are not household heads compared to 43.5% of incomplete nuclear family heads. More matrifocal family heads (60%) than patrifocal family heads (50%) are also household heads. One can conclude that the complete nuclear family head is more likely than the incomplete nuclear family head to be a household head.

Intergroup Marriage

To determine the extent of intermarriage among the three ethnic groups on the Reservation, each married person who answered the complete questionnaire on the Baseline Data Study was asked the ethnic group of his or her present spouse. (See Table 8 on following page.)

As one would expect, individuals are more likely to marry within their own ethnic group. The Mixed Blood group, however, is the most likely to intermarry with other groups, and the Non-Indian group the least likely to intermarry with other groups.

Among the Mixed Bloods, 61% are married to Mixed Bloods, 21.4% to Full Bloods and 17.6% to the Non-Indians. Among Full Bloods, 81% are married to Full Bloods, 17.8% to Mixed Bloods and 1.2% to Non-Indians. Among Non-Indians 93.1% are married to Non-Indians, 6.8% to Mixed Bloods and .1% to Full Bloods. The most prevalent intermarriage is between Mixed Bloods and Full Bloods and next between Mixed Bloods and Non-Indians. The least likely intermarriage is between Full Bloods and Non-Indians.

Table 8

INTERGROUP MARRIAGE BY SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP
(Sample Population)
Percentage Distribution

SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP	Mixed Blood Oglala	Mixed Blood Other	Total	Full Blood Oglala	Full Blood Other	Total	Non-Indian
Mixed Bloods	53.2	7.8	61.0	18.8	2.6	21.4	17.6
Male MB Oglala	56.8	4.0	60.8	23.1	2.0	25.1	14.1
Male MB Other	27.8	44.4	72.2	11.1	16.7	27.8	
Male MB's	54.4	7.4	61.8	22.1	3.2	25.3	12.9
Female MB Oglala	53.7	7.1	60.8	16.6	2.1	18.7	20.3
Female MB Other	42.1	15.8	57.9	15.8	2.6	18.4	23.7
Female MB's	52.3	8.1	60.4	16.5	2.2	18.7	20.9
Full Bloods	16.6	1.2	17.8	74.2	6.8	81.0	1.2
Male FB Oglala	10.5	1.3	11.8	81.2	6.6	87.8	.4
Male FB Other	33.3	11.1	44.4	55.5		55.5	
Male FB's	11.3	1.7	13.0	80.2	6.3	86.5	.4
Female FB Oglala	18.5	1.0	19.5	73.2	5.7	78.9	1.6
Female FB Other	44.0		44.0	28.0	24.0	52.0	4.0
Female FB's	20.3	.9	21.2	69.9	7.1	77.0	1.8
Non-Indian	5.5	1.3	6.8	.1		.1	93.1
Male	5.3	1.1	6.4				93.6
Female	5.7	1.4	7.1	.2		.2	92.7

N=1913

PART II

HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY MEMBERSHIP AMONG CHILDREN

Parental Presence

Table 9

PARENTAL PRESENCE BY SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP
Persons Under 16 Years of Age
Percentage Distribution

Parental Presence	Mixed Blood	Full Blood	Indian	Non-Indian
Both parents	65.1	62.7	63.8	94.1
Mother only	24.3	22.7	23.5	5.0
Father only	1.7	5.4	3.3	.4
Neither parent	8.9	9.2	9.4	.4
	N=2681	N=2034	N=4734*	N=1130

*Includes some Indian children whose ethnic group is not known.

36.2% of the Indian children under 16 years of age are living in households in which one or both parents are missing. Although a higher percentage of Full Blood than Mixed Blood children are not living with both parents, the actual number of Mixed Blood children without both parents in the household is higher. The rate of parental presence varies by age group as we shall see in the following table.

Table 10

PARENTAL PRESENCE AMONG INDIAN CHILDREN BY AGE
Persons Under 16 Years of Age
Percentage Distribution

Parental Presence	0 - 4	5 - 9	10 - 15
Both parents	70.7	63.3	58.1
Mother only	22.5	24.0	24.2
Father only	2.0	3.4	4.5
Neither parent	4.8	9.3	13.2
	N=1578	N=1617	N=1518

Children in the younger age group are more likely to be living with both parents than children in the older age groups. Especially dramatic is the change in the neither parent present category by age group, over one out of ten children in the 10 through 15 age group are living with neither parent.

RELATIONSHIP TO HOUSEHOLD HEAD OF INDIAN CHILDREN LIVING WITH NEITHER PARENT

Persons Under 16 Years of Age
Percentage Distribution

Relationship to HH	Mixed Blood	Full Blood	Indian
Grandchild	56.9	50.3	51.4
Foster child	23.0	22.5	26.4*
Niece or nephew	10.0	16.0	12.1
Sibling	1.3	4.3	2.7
Other or not clear	8.8	6.9	7.4
Total Number	239	187	447

*Includes some Indian children whose ethnic group is not known.

Among Indian children living with neither parent, over half are living with a grandparent or grandparents and over one-fourth are foster children. A smaller percentage of Full Blood than Mixed Blood children are living with grandparents, but more Full Blood children are living with aunts or uncles and siblings.

Household Composition and Membership

Table 12

COMPOSITION OF INDIAN CHILDREN'S HOUSEHOLDS
BY ETHNIC GROUP
Persons Under 16 Years of Age
Percentage Distribution

Household Composition	Mixed Blood	Full Blood	Indian
Single family household	56.6	46.3	52.2
Single family household with extra relatives	11.4	13.0	12.1
Multiple family households	23.2	27.6	25.0
Multiple family households with extra relatives	6.9	12.1	9.1
Other	1.9	1.0	1.6

The highest percentage of Indian children (42%) are living in households composed of one complete nuclear family, 46% of the Mixed Blood and 36% of the Full Blood children. 10% of both ethnic groups are living in households composed of one incomplete nuclear family. The Full Blood child is more likely than the Mixed Blood child to be living in a multiple family household or in a single family household with extra relatives. Almost half of the Mixed Blood children, however, and over half of the Full Blood children are living in households where other than members of the family orientation are present.

In regard to relationship to household head, 72% of Indian children are living in households where a parent is the household head, 16.5% where a grandparent or the spouse of a grandparent is household head. 4.4% of the children are in households where a stepfather is household head, .8% where the father is household head but the child has a stepmother, .4% are adopted children of the household head and 2.5% are foster children.

Among children living with both parents, 92% are living in households in which the father is the household head, 6% in which a grandparent is household head and 2% where someone else is household head. Over half of the children living with only one parent are living in households where the parent is not the household head. In 29% of these households, a grandparent is household head and in 22% another relative is household head. Thus the child living with only one parent is much more likely than the child living with both parents to be living in a household where his parent is not the household head. This means that other relatives are present who could assume responsibilities for the child. Whether this compensates sufficiently for the loss of a parent is not certain.

Conclusions

From the foregoing data, it can be concluded that one of the major problems among Indians is the instability of the nuclear family unit. This is reflected in the high percentage of divorced and separated persons, and in the high proportion of single parent nuclear families. It looks as though family instability is increasing because of the higher incidence of single parent family heads in the younger age groups. This is, however, not conclusive without comparable statistics for an earlier period. The instability of the nuclear family means that a high percentage of children are not living with both parents. Although this is somewhat compensated for by the presence of other relatives in a high percentage of households containing incomplete nuclear families, evidence is strong that Indian children are affected by the ab sence of one or both parents. It has been assumed that parental absence among Indian children is not as traumatic as among most other ethnic groups in the United States because of the importance of the extended family. The assumption has been that the Indian child is brought up surrounded by adult relatives who play the role of secondary parents so that in the case of the loss of a parent, a surrogate parent who is familiar to the child will be available to replace the missing parent, and thus mitigating the psychological effects of parent loss. We challenge this assumption. From our research, it has become evident that children without both parents in the home are more likely to suffer psychiatric disorders, to become juvenile offenders, to be overage for their grade and to be living in poverty stricken households. Furthermore, it would seem that members of the extended family are not always willing to assume the role of parents as reflected in the high percentage of foster children. More than six times as many Indian children (2.5%) than children in the general U.S. general population (.38%) are living in foster homes. Also, as has been pointed out many times, parental absence often means that grandparents play the role of parents and this in turn exaggerates the generation gap.

Another conclusion which can be drawn from the data, is that the extended family household although not predominant accounts for a large percentage of household types. As stated previously, the origin of the high incidence of extended family households is not known, but could result from cultural preference or from necessity.

COMMUNITY PORTRAIT NO. 2
WANBLEE COMMUNITY

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Geography

The community of Wanblee is located in the northeast section of the Reservation and is the community located farthest from the Pine Ridge Agency offices. (90 to 110 miles depending on route taken). The community is part of Washabaugh County and is located about 20 miles south of Kadoka which is the county seat of Jackson county, the next county to the north which also serves as the county seat for Washabaugh County. The village is located on what is presently called Craven Creek. The Badlands National Park lies about 25 miles north and west of Wanblee. Wanblee is bordered on the east, west and south by farming and grazing land. The plains immediately surrounding Wanblee are covered with low growing buffalo grass dotted with a variety of trees, shrubs and flowers. The most common trees are the American elm, ash, cedar, box elder, wild plum, chokecherry, cottonwood and oak.

Wanblee is located on an oiled highway which runs across the Reservation and provides access to Pine Ridge village. Part of this highway (from Interior to the Wounded Knee community) is on the Big Foot Trail, named after Chief Big Foot who led his people along this same route to Wounded Knee in 1890 where they were involved in the Wounded Knee Massacre. This highway is maintained by the BIA. Going on this highway out of Wanblee seven miles to the north and west will connect one with State Highway 73 which runs north and south from Martin to Kadoka. The small town of Long Valley is also located on highway 73 to the south. This highway provides Wanblee citizens easy access to all of these communities. A dirt road connects Wanblee to the small Reservation bordertown of Interior about 22 miles distant. As there is no liquor allowed on the Reservation at present, many of the community citizens travel to the town of Interior where there are bars. There is no public transportation system and transportation presents a serious problem in times of an emergency. 58.6% of the Indian households and 88.9% of the Non-Indian households have a vehicle. If one does not have a vehicle the usual method is to hire someone who does and it is reported that a trip to Pine Ridge village costs about $20.00.

South of Wanblee about 5 miles stands a picturesque landmark that may be seen for many miles around from any direction. This landmark is a butte that was given the name of Eagle Nest because it was reportedly a great rendezvous and nesting place for eagles in the early days. Legend has it that Indians dug deep pits on the summit and covered them over with leafy branches on which they would place rabbits for bait. Then they would conceal themselves in these excavations and capture the eagles by grabbing hold of their legs as they swooped down for the bait. The Indians' purpose for capturing the eagles was to secure the tail and wing feathers for hair ornaments and making war bonnets. Wanblee is the Indian name for "Eagle" and is where the town of Wanblee got its name. There are other smaller buttes located in the county namely: Buzzard Butte located near Eagle Nest, and in the western part of the county are Saddle Butte and Snake Butte. Snake Butte consists of several buttes and got its name from early historical reports that many rattlesnake dens were located there. Hexagon shaped sand crystals pointed at each end are numerous on Snake Butte and reportedly this is the only place they are found in the United States.

Communications

Communications is a major problem in Wanblee. Few families have telephones and there is no public telephone service in the community. The only telephone available for any public use is located in the BIA School and is actually intended for emergency use only during hours in which the school is in operation.

The Wanblee Post Office is part of the Livermont Store and is operated by James Livermont. The mail arrives from Kadoka from the north and Martin from the south around noon daily. The post office is open from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. daily on week days.

The majority of households with electricity (55% of the Indian and 96.3% of the Non-Indian households) have television sets. Families without electricity have transistor radios and listen to Rapid City, Chadron, and Hot Springs radio stations.

The War Cry published by the local OEO Program staff provides current news of the Reservation community and the Shannon County News and the Bennett County Booster provide county news of bordering counties. Some residents of Wanblee community also subscribe to the Rapid City Journal.

Housing and Description of the Populated Zone

The town of Wanblee was laid out in lots in 1920. Currently, however, there is an irregular clustering of private homes on these lots. The majority of the village population lives on the east side of the highway running through town and the community building, BIA School, BIA School employees homes and the PHS Clinic building are located on the west side of the highway. The homes in which the Indian people live are mostly log and frame or are trailer houses. One of the local store owners rents trailer houses primarily to families receiving welfare assistance in the form of ADC. Many of the homes in which the Indian people live would be considered substandard. There have been improvements made in the appearance of the village in the last year due to the efforts of the Rangers and other community people in getting old cars and junk removed from the village and because of NYC projects to clean up and mow weeds around the town. Also, in the village on the east side of the highway are located some nice frame houses occupied by Mixed Bloods and Non-Indians and five brand new homes were recently constructed on the east side of the highway for Public Health Service personnel, three of which are presently occupied.

There are two combination service stations and stores located in the community; one operated by Jim Livermont and the other operated by Manual Maldonado. The community building (Kennedy Hall) is the last building on the west side of the highway as you are going north out of town. This is an attractive new building which is used for community activities and during the daytime by the Headstart School.

In addition to the Headstart School there are two other schools in Wanblee; one previously mentioned the Bureau of Indian Affairs Elementary Day School located on the west side of the highway and across on the east sideof the highway there is a public elementary school.

Ethnic Composition and Language

73.4% of the Indian inhabitants of Wanblee live in the village itself while only 19.4% of the Non-Indians live in the village. It is interesting to note that more Full Bloods (82.2%) than Mixed Bloods (62.6%) reside in the village. This is in contrast to the Kyle community where 52% of the Full Bloods are rural dwellers. The majority of Indian houses (58.6%) and

Non-Indian houses (77.8%) are owned by a member of the family. The latter is in contrast with the Kyle community where the majority of Non-Indians live mainly in rented houses (64.7%). This may reflect the fact that Non-Indians are much more firmly entrenched in Wanblee community and Washabaugh County and own much more of the land than in Kyle and other parts of the Reservation, (except Bennett County).

Of the total population (743) of Wanblee community, 47.6% is composed of Full Blood Indians, 39.2% of Mixed Blood Indians and 13.2% of Non-Indians. 5.1% of the Full Bloods and 3.2% of the Mixed Bloods are Indians from other reservations (mostly Rosebud). 54.9% of the total Indian population is Full Blood. On the basis of the sample population,[1] among married respondents who considered themselves to be Mixed Bloods, 14.7% are married to Full Bloods and 35.3% are married to Non-Indians. Among Full Bloods, 15.1% are married to Mixed Bloods and only 1.9% to Non-Indians. Among Non-Indians, 20% are married to Mixed Bloods and 0% to Full Bloods. From this there appears to be a good deal of intermarriage between the Mixed Blood and the Non-Indian population, among the present adult generation.

In the sample population 75% of the Indians indicated they are bilingual, speaking both English and Lakota. 92.9% of the Full Bloods are bilingual compared to only 48.2% of the Mixed Bloods. 4.7% of the Full Bloods speak only a little English. 41.1% of the Mixed Bloods speak English only and 7.1% speak a little Lakota. 3.7% of the Non-Indians are bilingual and 7.4% speak a "little Lakota."

In 41.4% of the households, English and Lakota are spoken equally while English only is spoken in 25.7% of the households and Lakota is spoken in only 5% of the households. English is the predominant language in 69.6% of the Mixed Blood households and Lakota in 34.5% of the Full Blood households.

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1. Adults who answered the complete questionnaire each representing one household. All statistics are taken from the Baseline Data Study.

POPULATION OF WANBLEE BY SEX, AGE AND ETHNIC GROUP

Number Distribution

AGE	ALL CLASSES			INDIAN			NON-INDIAN		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
All Ages	743	373	370	645	317	328	98	56	42
Under 5 years	115	50	65	109	47	62	6	3	3
5-9 years	98	52	46	92	48	44	6	4	2
10-14 years	92	46	46	84	42	42	8	4	4
15-19 years	94	54	40	84	49	35	10	5	5
20-24 years	59	24	35	49	18	31	10	6	4
25-29 years	45	24	21	39	20	19	6	4	2
30-34 years	37	16	21	30	12	18	7	4	3
35-44 years	57	33	24	47	28	19	10	5	5
45-54 years	51	23	28	39	17	22	12	6	6
55-64 years	53	31	22	37	20	17	16	11	5
65-69 years	14	5	9	12	4	8	2	1	1
70 years and over	28	15	13	23	12	11	5	3	2

History

The traceable history of Wanblee goes back to 1880 when a band of Brules or Wozhazas under Chief Lip settled on a place named Lips Camp on the east side of Pass Creek about 15 miles east of the present site of Wanblee village. Although technically Brules, this band of Indians joined the Oglalas in 1854 and lived with them until 1876 when they rejoined Spotted Tail's Brules to avoid the trouble with the army that Red Cloud's leadership gave promise of provoking. Chief Lip's original band included names now familiar in the Wanblee community such as Cut, Crier, Brown, Red Dog Tracks, Quiver, Breast, Short Bull, Four Knives, Long Commander and Chips. In 1885 a school house was built at Lips Camp and school was started on September 16, 1885. An Episcopalian church was also built in 1886.

Although Lips Band had drawn their rations at the Rosebud Agency, their ties with the Oglalas were still strong and when the new reservation boundaries placed them in the Pine Ridge Reservation, they insisted upon being counted on the Pine Ridge rolls. The Commission of Indian Affairs refused to grant their request and the band therefore decided to take matters into their own hands and in 1890 stampeded toward the Pine Ridge Agency. They went into camp at Wounded Knee Creek about 15 miles east of the Agency (present site of Pine Ridge) and vowed to stay there until they had their own way. Apparently they were camped on Wounded Knee Creek about the time the hostilities of 1890 leading to the battle of Wounded Knee were taking place. The then 600 to 800 members of the band who were camped there were taken as prisoners of war until the boundary dispute could be resolved. It was stated that they were restless and difficult to control and vowed never to return to Rosebud.[2]

The Indian Appropriation Act of March 3, 1891 appropriated $6,000 to finance a negotiation of the boundary dispute. A commission was formed to conduct a negotiation and visited Pine Ridge in June 1891. They quickly decided that the only acceptable solution to the problem was to transfer the band to the Pine Ridge rolls. The Oglalas were willing and more than three-fourths of the adult males signed an agreement to the transfer. The total number transferred from Rosebud rolls to the Pine Ridge rolls at that time was 635.

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2. The Last Days of the Sioux Nation by Robert M. Utley, New Haven and London, Yale University Press 1963, pages 78-79, 272-273.

In 1904, the church and school buildings at the old Lips Camp were torn down and moved to the present site at Wanblee.

In 1909, the Indians were allotted land. Those named as belonging to Lips Camp were allotted all the land near and including that on which Wanblee is presently located. From 1909 to 1914 Wanblee was simply an Indian village surrounding the day school located there. In 1914, a government Boss Farmers Office was established and the district was given the name of Eagle Nest. Prior to the establishing of the Boss Farmers Office at Wanblee the Indians had to go to Allen about 35 miles southwest for rations and government business.

Mr. E. B. Pomeroy of Kalamazoo, Michigan was appointed Boss Farmer and Mr. J.M. Woods was appointed teacher in the day school, both of these people coming in 1914. At that time, the nearest post office was Porch on Bear or Bear In The Lodge Creek about 17 miles southwest and trading was done either at Porch or at Allen.

In 1915, Andrew Bussell (Buckshot) a Mixed Blood Indian came from Allen and established a store on the section line of Wanblee.

Prior to the allotment of land, churches were given 160 acres of land and the Episcopalian church bought 160 acres north of Wanblee. The Catholics were allotted 40 acres for church purposes south of what is now Wanblee and built the first church in 1905. The Presbyterian church was allotted 40 acres and built a mission building to the west of Wanblee which existed until 1932.

In 1916, Royal Seraby, a young merchant from Crookston, Nebraska came to Washabaugh County and visited Wanblee and decided it would be a good place to establish a trading post. He purchased 40 acres for this purpose from Emily Brown Ears and started business.

During the summer of 1916, Leslie Short Bull, a young Full Blood Indian, established a small store on the section line south and became the second postmaster, as Mrs. Pomeroy who had become the first postmistress of Wanblee no longer wanted the position. In 1917, the government built a doctor's cottage, but on account of the war no doctor was appointed to the station.

As was mentioned above, Mrs. Pomeroy, wife of the Boss Farmer, became the first postmistress in 1916 and in the same year she was followed by Leslie Short Bull. In 1918, Henry Standing Bear became postmaster. When the post office was first established in 1916, mail was supposed to come in twice a week from Weta, 17 miles to the north. Anyone getting off the train in Weta bound for Wanblee was given the mail. In 1918, there was a regular mail delivery three times a week and this increased contact with the outside world.

While only one Non-Indian family moved into the town of Wanblee in 1917, and one in 1918, there were many Non-Indians moving into the surrounding countryside which affected the growth and life of the small town. The people who came were primarily cattlemen and sheepraisers. These people grazed thousands of acres of land and did most of their trading in Wanblee. Some purchased land from Indians who had patents.

In 1921 and 1922, the cattlemen went broke due to financial conditions resulting from the war and farmers began moving into the county. In 1920, on the town site of Wanblee, 20 acres were surveyed and plotted and put on record in the courthouse in Kadoka which is the county seat serving Washabaugh County. During the 20's, the community of Wanblee grew and thrived with the town itself growing to the point that it had three stores, John Deere and International Harvester Machinery sales outlet, a restaurant, a meat market, a movie theater, two service stations, a hotel and pool hall.

The increased Non-Indian population request for public schools led to the development of a public school system in 1918. The man who organized this system was J.M. Wood, the same man who was the first teacher at the Indian day school in 1914. The public school operated an elementary school first and later developed a high school, graduating its first high school students in 1926. The high school operated until 1937 when it was decided that the community could no longer afford a high school.

In the early 1930's, the grasshoppers, hailstorms and drought came and the crops failed. People again began moving out of the community rapidly and efforts were quickly made to restore the ground to grassland to preserve the soil. By 1935 and 1936 some of the grassland was restored and more and more land began to be used for ranching purposes. Presently, most people do a combination of ranching and farming.

The Depression and hard times in the 1930's were disastrous to Whites and Indians alike. The failures of the farmers and the ranchers caused them to default on their Indian land leases and only a few Indian ranchers and farmers were able to survive those difficult times.

Prior to the 30's, most of the Indian people were living on their land allotments scattered around the country side. However, a combination of forces led to their leaving their homes in the country and moving into the Wanblee village where a majority of the inhabitants currently reside.

One of these reasons was of course the selling of land to Whites or other Indians, much of which occurred in the 20's when there was a real boom and a demand for farmland and the price of the land was high. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 provided protection for the Indian land in the form of giving the Indians preference in the purchase and leasing of land. In the Wanblee community, this resulted in some people - of a small degree of Indian blood returning to the Reservation and using their Indian rights to gain control of much of the land, as Indian people needed to sell or lease the land because they were not making any profit from it. Also contributing to this were marriages between Indians and Non-Indians, especially where a Non-Indian male marrying an Indian female used her rights in purchasing land. WPA work projects to build dams and roads in the area provided wage work and also contributed to drawing people into the town. The period when the WPA work projects were gone the Indian people were left without land, having their land leased out and only a small percentage were again able to get started in cattle ranching or farming. The remainder of the Indian people stayed either in the village or in the country and now exist on wage work in surrounding towns, work on farms and ranches in the area or draw some kind of welfare assistance. Much has been said about the contribution of various types of welfare assistance towards destroying their initiative and creating a dependency situation.

The Depression of the 30's destroyed much of the prosperity of the total area enjoyed in the 20's and Wanblee lost its place as a thriving market town. The Indian Reorganization Act which gave Indian preference to the land also discouraged many of the White ranchers and farmers and they left the area usually moving on west. The town declined to its present status of two small stores and service stations as the only remaining businesses.

HEALTH AND SANITATION

Health and sanitation problems are serious in the community of Wanblee. Only 19.4% of the Indian households have water piped into the home. This is in contrast to 85.2% of the Non-Indian homes. 39.6% of the Indian households have a pump in the yard, 35.5% receive their water from neighbors houses or wells and 4.3% haul their water from a creek or a spring. Among Full Bloods, only 8.3% have water piped into their homes in contrast to 36.4% of the Mixed Blood households. Wanblee also does not have a laundromat which is available in some of the other communities.

In looking at the number of people (sample population) who indicated they had some type of physical disability: 47.2% of the male Full Bloods indicated they had some type of physical disability. This is in comparison to 12% of the male Mixed Bloods. 12.2% of the female Full Bloods and 16.7% of the female Mixed Bloods indicated they had some type of physical disability. The most frequently mentioned physical disability was a heart condition with eyesight problems, diabetes, arthritis, and crippling conditions following. The high incidence of especially males indicating they had some type of physical disability might be related to the fact that for a man to obtain some type of welfare or pension, you must have some kind of illness or disability.

The community of Wanblee has been interested in acquiring a community water supply system for the town site through a U.S. Public Health Service program which provides for such community projects. However, the U.S. Public Health Service has never approved the project for Wanblee because the town site is located on deeded land. The rationale is that if a community water supply was set up someone who was not an Indian could pay the back taxes on the land and could thereby acquire a community with a free water system. There has been talk about moving the town site of Wanblee across the creek to the west on Indian trust land where this would not be a problem. There is continual discussion and talk about this matter at community meetings. However, at present nothing definite has been accomplished.

Receiving adequate medical care has also been a problem for Wanblee residents primarily because of the distance they must travel for service at the Pine Ridge Hospital. Some people go to physicians in Kadoka. This however, presents difficulties because of problems of payment of medical bills. The Wanblee people have wanted some kind of health facility in their own community for years. Several years ago a request was made to the Public Health Service to establish what it termed a Health Center (a full-time out-patient facility with no hospital beds) at Wanblee. In 1967, the Public Health Service offered to the citizens of Wanblee the choice of having the planned Health Center or establishing a bus transportation system which would be for not only their community but for others on the Reservation. The proposal was that money used to build the Health Center could be better used to transport people to Pine Ridge where they would receive better medical care. This bus transportation would also have been available for other than people coming to Pine Ridge for medical care. The community of Wanblee made the decision to go ahead with the Health Center and the Health Center became operational on July 22, 1968 with one physician, one pharmacist, and one public health nurse as personnel. The Public Health Service built houses for these personnel in the community. Prior to the opening of the Health Center, the Public Health Service was holding a clinic one day per week on Thursday, staffed by a physician and nurses.

A public health nurse*and a psychiatric social worker from the Community Mental Health Program also provide services in the community on about a one day per week basis. There is also currently a full-time Community Health Aide employed under the OEO program now living and working full-time in Wanblee.

As part of the Baseline Data Study survey taken before the Wanblee Health Center was operational, respondents were asked how the PHS could improve its services. Among Indian respondents who answered the question, the largest percentage, 34.3% stated they would like to see more clinics and more staff in the districts. 17.1% of the Indians stated they were satisfied with the Public Health Service. Among the Non-Indians it is interesting to note that 22.2% thought the Public Health Service should provide more clinics and staff in the districts and 11.1% of Non-Indians thought the Public Health Service could provide better physicians compared with only 4.3% of the Indian population that thought Public Health Service should provide better physicians. Also on the Baseline Data Study survey, the sample population was asked to indicate what their community problems and needs were. The need for health facilities was listed by 12.1% of the Indian population and was ranked fourth behind housing, employment and water.

*The Public Health Service now provides a full-time public health nurse who resides in the community.

In addition to the Public Health services, the community of Wanblee has one Community Health Aide permanently assigned to the community, one Community Worker Aide, one Homemaker Aide and two Rangers all employed by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Employment

Table 1

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF LABOR FORCE IN WANBLEE*
BY SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP
Percentage Distribution

GROUP	Employed Full-Time	Employed Part-Time	Employed	Unemployed
All Groups	42.9	25.2	68.1	31.9
Male	44.6	23.0	67.6	32.4
Female	38.0	32.0	70.0	30.0
Mixed Blood	40.5	32.4	72.9	27.0
Male	44.6	26.8	71.4	28.6
Female	27.8	50.0	77.8	22.2
Full Blood	23.3	26.7	50.0	50.0
Male	16.9	28.8	45.7	54.3
Female	31.3	22.2	46.5	53.5
Total Indian	31.3	29.3	60.6	39.4
Male	30.4	27.8	58.2	41.8
Female	33.3	33.3	66.7	33.3
Non-Indian	92.1	7.9	100.0	
Male	93.9	6.1	100.0	
Female	80.0	20.0	100.0	

N=198

*Persons 14 years and over.

Of the total community labor force (persons 14 years and over, excluding students, housewives, disabled and retired) 42.9% are employed full-time, 25.2% employed part-time and 31.9% are unemployed. Of the total Indian labor force, 31.3%

are employed full-time, 29.3% employed part-time and 39.4% unemployed. 100% of the Non-Indians are employed. It is interesting to note that the rate of unemployment is higher among Full Bloods (50%) than among Mixed Bloods (27%). More Mixed Bloods (32.4%) compared to Full Bloods (26.7%) are employed part-time. It is interesting to note that only 16.9% of Full Blood males are employed full-time while 31.3% of female Full Bloods are employed full-time. Among Mixed Bloods, more males 44.6% than females 27.8% are employed full-time. 45.6% of Full Blood households have no one employed while only 20.4% of Mixed Blood households have no one employed. The employment picture in Wanblee varies a great deal from the community of Kyle where the rate of employment among Full Bloods is 70.9% and slightly higher than among Mixed Bloods (69.4%).

Sources of Income

Among the Indian working force (sample population), the highest percentage is self-employed with 42.3% of the Mixed Bloods and 10.5% of the Full Bloods stating they are self-employed. The second most important source of income is BIA with 24.4%. 17.8% are employed by an individual and 11.1% are employed by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Only 6.7% are employed by a company and another 6.7% are employed by the Tribe. 47.1% of the Non-Indian population is self-employed, 17.6% are employed by the BIA, 11.8% by an individual person and another 11.8% are employed by other government agencies.

In looking at the types of income among the total Indian population, the plurality (35.5%) receive unearned income, 29% receive earned income and 22.5% receive earned and unearned income. Among Indian males 45% receive earned income, 38% earned and unearned income and 13.3% unearned income. Among Indian females 52.5% receive unearned income, 16.7% receive earned income and 10.3% earned and unearned income. Interestingly, 84% of Mixed Blood males receive earned income while only 17.1% of Full Blood males receive earned income. 46.7% of Mixed Blood females and 56.3% of Full Blood females receive some type of unearned income. Among the Non-Indian population, 48.1% receive completely earned income, 17.4% both earned and unearned income and 7.4% unearned income. Among the Non-Indian population, 66.7% of the males receive earned income while 66.7% of the females receive no income at all. This is in comparison to 23.3% of the Mixed Blood females who receive no income and 18.7% of the Full Blood females who receive no income, pointing out that more Indian than Non-Indian females have a source of income.

Unearned income is derived largely from lease payments and pension and welfare payments from the government. 40.7% of the Indians, (sample population) receive some type of welfare or pension, 47.6% of the Full Bloods and 30.4% of the Mixed Bloods. A larger percent of the women (53.2%) than the men (24.6%) are receiving welfare or pension payments.

44.4% of welfare and pension payments are ADC, 19.1% social security benefits, 12.7% veterans benefits, 12.7% other state assistance and 7.9% BIA General Assistance. 58.3% of Indian women receiving some type of welfare pension are recipients of ADC, 61.3% of the Full Bloods and 52.9% of the Mixed Blood women. We should note the survey containing this information was completed in March 1968 and probably the welfare assistance picture, especially the number of people receiving BIA General Assistance changes throughout the year.

Land Ownership and Use

56.3% of the Indians (sample population) and 59.3% of the Non-Indians own land. Land ownership is more prevalent among Full Bloods (60%) than Mixed Bloods (45.6%). Of the Indian population owning land, 76.3% are not using the land at all compared to only 6.3% of Non-Indians who are not using their land.

More Full Bloods (89.7%) than Mixed Bloods (50%) are not using their land. 20.8% of the Mixed Bloods and 10.2% of the Full Bloods are using their land for ranching only and 29.2% of Mixed Bloods and 0% of Full Bloods are using their land for ranching and farming. 68.8% of Non-Indians are using their land for ranching and farming, 6.3% for farming and only 18.8% for ranching only. 62.7% of the Indian population owning land are leasing all of their land and an additional 14.7% are using part of their land. 78.4% of Full Bloods in comparison to 32% of Mixed Bloods are leasing all of their land.

The crops raised around the Wanblee area are wheat, oats, barley, potatoes, Sudan grass and alfalfa. The principal breeds of cattle raised are Herefords and Aberdeen Angus. The majority of horses raised are range horses, plus some Quarter horses, Morgans and Appaloosa.

A number of Indian families especially those who have land in the country have gardens where they raise potatoes, corn, carrots, beets, turnips, peas, onions, tomatoes, beans, radishes, cucumbers and watermelons.

Commercial Activities

Presently Wanblee has two stores that sell groceries and gasoline. The Livermont store, owned by Jim Livermont sells a full line of groceries and meats and gasoline. The second store owned by Manual and Margaret Maldonado sells a few groceries and gasoline. There is no clothing store or laundromat in the town of Wanblee. The VISTA workers started a small library located in the community building (Kennedy Hall) at the north end of town.

Clothing and other household necessities are not available in the town of Wanblee and shopping trips must be made to Kadoka, Martin, Rapid City or Gordon to shop for these items. These trips are generally made about every two weeks when salary, welfare or pension checks are received.

FAMILY ORGANIZATION

There are some interesting findings in relation to family organization in Wanblee. 50.2% of the Indians, 14 years and older are married and living with their spouse and 3.8% are divorced. Among the married population, 10.7% are separated. The rate of divorce is highest among Mixed Blood males, 6.3% compared to 5.6% of the Full Blood males. The highest percentage of persons separated are Full Blood males, 12% of married Full Blood males. The lowest percentage of separated persons is found among Mixed Blood females, 10% of those married.

Of the total Indian population 14 years and older, 37.9% remain single, 43.0% of the males and 32.8% of the females. This is in contrast to the Kyle community where of the total Indian population 14 years and older 26.7% of the people remain single, 31% of males and 21.1% of females. Also in Kyle 58.7% of the total Indian population is married in comparison to 50.3% in Wanblee.

The most prevalent type of family organization among the Indian population is the complete nuclear family consisting of a couple and their children (54.7%), 22.3% of the Indian families are incomplete nuclear families with a female head and 4.7% are incomplete nuclear families with a male head. 18.2% of the families consist of people living alone. Of the Non-Indian population, 89.5% are complete nuclear families. There were no incomplete nuclear families among Non-Indians and 10.5% of the Non-Indian population lives alone. Among the Indian population who are students or pre-school children, only 59.5% are living with both parents. More Mixed Bloods (61.9%) than Full Bloods (57.5%) are living with both parents. 25.6% are living with the mother only, 6.8% with the father only and 8% with neither parent. Among Non-Indians, 100% of the children are living with both parents.

Although not directly comparable to the above statistics, the following might be an indicator of a trend. Among adult Indians interviewed, 75.1% indicated they have lived with both parents during most of their childhood. Only 9.8% indicated they have lived with their mother only during most of their childhood, 3.5% had lived with their father only and 11.6% had lived with neither parent.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Eagle Nest District has three representatives on the Tribal Council: Steven Red Elk, Leona Winters and Paul L. Livermont.

Eagle Nest District also has a District Council which supposedly acts as an interpreter of public opinion to the Tribal Council. According to many residents of the community, the District Council is weak and has accomplished very little over the past few years.

Although there is some strong leadership potential in the community of Wanblee, it is very difficult to gain concensus for any action toward community improvement. Community meetings at Wanblee are characterized by presentations from outside speakers, usually government employees who make promises and tell about new programs to come. This kind of meeting does not allow for the community people to discuss community problems or take responsibility among themselves. There also seems to be a strong leveling force operating in Wanblee which impedes community development. This leveling effect seems to be related to a great deal of jealousy among the community citizens and this jealousy probably has a great deal to do with lack of any kind of opportunities for anyone in the community. One could theorize that if adequate opportunities were available for all citizens then people would not be jealous of one person who attempted to "get ahead". Another important force holding back progress in Wanblee community seems to be fear of termination. Wanblee seems to be an island surrounded by the rest of the county already controlled by White people and much of the land is in actual control of Non-Indians, making the threat of state take-over seem very real. Much talk of bringing industry into the town or in taking initiative toward community improvement is met with an unspoken understanding among the citizens that if we look too good we might lose our Indian rights and our welfare assistance. This is also shown in problems in attempting to organize for better education (see section on formal education).

While this seems to present a bleak picture it is certainly not an impossible one. Competent community development oriented people and changes in government policy and practice which would really portray a belief in beginning with the people's felt needs and that people themselves need to be involved in shaping their own destiny, I believe, would go a long way toward alleviating some of these problems. With all the money currently spent on the Reservation it would seem that it should be used to provide equal opportunities and widen the range of choices available for the people, especially in the employment field.

Presently the most influential leaders in the community seem to be the councilmen, the school principal, the Community Health Aides, Rangers, the Community Worker Aide and the town storekeepers. Recently a VISTA worker has gained some leadership status as he is organizing a consumers or buyers club in the town.

FORMAL RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

There are two churches in the Wanblee Community, one Catholic and one Episcopalian. The Catholic Church has the largest Indian membership (53.2%) and Episcopalians have 44.4% (sample population). More Mixed Bloods, (67.9%) than Full Bloods (43.5%) belong to the Catholic Church and more Full Bloods (55.3%) than Mixed Bloods (17.9%) belong to the Episcopalian Church. Another 2.8% of the Indian population belongs to the Presbyterian faith and 1.4% to the Lutheran faith and .7% to the Mormon Church. Of the Non-Indian population, the largest percentage (26%) belong to the Presbyterian Church while 18.5% belong to the Catholic Church and 7.4% to the Episcopalian Church. 7.4% of Non-Indians are Mormon.

Formal Education:

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has operated an elementary school in the Wanblee area since the 1890's. (see history). The first school was located on Pass Creek east of the present site of Wanblee and was moved to the town of Wanblee along with the community in 1904. The state public school system has also operated a school in the town of Wanblee since 1919 and there are several public schools located in outlying rural areas. There has been a great deal of talk of the need to consolidate the BIA and the public school, however, to no avail. Although probably a better school system could be operated if the two got together, so far this has remained in the talking stage only. It appears that both the Non-Indian and Indian populations do not want to consolidate, but probably for different reasons. The Indian people probably because of their fears of losing their rights to education from the federal government and see this as another step toward termination and the state taking over. The Non-Indians probably would rather not have their children attend a school with Indian children and are possibly opposed on the basis of the fact the Indian people are not required to pay taxes and would not assume their fair share toward the operation of the school.

The present BIA Wanblee Day School had an enrollment of about 180 children in March of 1968. This includes the eight grades and beginners classrooms. Mr. Elijah Whirlwind Horse, an Oglala Sioux Indian born and reared in the Wanblee community is presently the school principal. Wanblee school is the center for sports activities in the community and also has been a sponsor of Boy and Girl Scouts and 4-H groups in the community.

As has been mentioned previously, there is a nursery school or Headstart school operated in the community building and has been operating now for 2 years. This school seems to have been well received in the community and seems to be making a real contribution toward helping the children move more successfully through the developmental tasks of the three to five age group.

Table 2

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL IN WANBLEE BY SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP
(25 Years and Over by Years of School Completed)
Percentage Distribution

GROUP	ELEMENTARY			HIGH SCHOOL		COLLEGE	
	Less than 5 years	5 - 7 years	8 years	1 - 3 years	4 years	1 - 3 years	4 years or more
All Groups	7.9	15.5	31.3	24.1	14.7	3.2	3.2
Male	9.1	12.6	35.7	20.3	18.2	1.4	2.8
Female	6.7	18.5	26.7	28.1	11.1	5.2	3.7
Mixed Blood	9.1	9.1	22.7	31.8	19.3	5.7	2.3
Male	11.4	6.8	20.4	34.1	25.0		2.3
Female	6.8	11.4	25.0	29.5	13.6	11.4	2.3
Full Blood	10.5	24.8	37.6	19.5	6.0		1.5
Male	12.3	21.5	43.1	15.4	6.2		1.5
Female	8.8	27.9	32.4	23.5	5.9		1.5
Total Indian	10.0	18.6	31.7	24.4	11.3	2.2	1.8
Male	11.9	15.6	33.9	22.9	13.8		1.9
Female	8.0	21.4	29.5	25.9	8.9	4.5	1.8
Non-Indian		3.5	29.8	22.8	28.1	7.0	8.8
Male		2.9	41.2	11.7	32.4	5.9	5.9
Female		4.3	13.0	39.1	21.7	8.7	13.0

The educational level of Wanblee Indian people falls considerably below the general U.S. White and Negro population; 11.3% of the Indians are high school graduates in comparison to 51.3% of the U.S. Whites and 27.1% of the U.S. Negro population. Mixed Bloods have a higher percentage of graduates, 19.3% than the Full Bloods 6.0%. Also, only 28.1% of Non-Indians graduated from high school. 5.7% of the total Mixed Blood Indian population, and 11.4% of the female Mixed Blood population had some college. 2.3% of the Mixed Bloods and 1.5% of the Full Bloods have graduated from college.

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

According to the Indians (sample population) the major community needs or problems in Wanblee are housing 48.6%, water 32.9% and employment 32.1%. Other problems indicated were need for health facilities 12.1%, crime 12.1%, education 10.7%, sanitation 9.3% and roads 7.9%. Among the Non-Indian population 37% felt roads were the leading problem, education 33.3%, employment 18.5%, crime 18.5% and housing 14.8%.

COMMUNITY SERVICES IN WANBLEE

Services Listed	Extent of Service
Water	No city water system and 19.4% of Indian households have water piped into homes.
Electricity	55% of Indian households.
Telephone	No public telephones available.
Post Office	One mail delivery per day.
Education	BIA Elementary School, Public Elementary School and Headstart School.
Public Health Service	Health Center - staffed by a physician, public health nurse and pharmacist full-time. Psychiatric social worker one day a week.
OEO personnel	One full-time health aide, one community worker aide, two homemaker aides and two rangers.

Garbage collection	No regular garbage collection service.
Police	One policeman
Churches	One Episcopalian and one Catholic.
Recreation	Basketball, baseball, softball and volleyball teams primarily for youth. Occasional powwows and dances, community hall used for bingos and community meetings.
Commercial services	Two combination grocery stores and service stations.

Maurice W. Miller, MSW
Psychiatric Social Worker

NOTE: The information included in the history section was gathered largely from a book entitled Jackson, Washabaugh Counties 1915 to 1965, published by the Jackson, Washabaugh County Historical Society; and from interviews with Charles Whistler, Louis Hercher and many other residents of the Wanblee community.

SUN DANCE, 1968*

Introduction

According to historical accounts,[1] the last great Sun Dance of the Oglala Sioux was held in 1881. Thereafter it came under government prohibition since certain elements such as torture and the use of fertility figures on the Sun Dance pole were considered uncivilized. More probably, however, this was part of a policy to de-emphasize ceremonials which tended to preserve Indian identity and which hindered assimilation and insured cohesion. In the 1930's,[2] in an attempt on the part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to revitalize Indian culture, the Sun Dance in diluted form was revived at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, but torture was not permitted. Of this first restoration of the Sun Dance, Hyde remarked: "Put on by college boys, it was a very ladylike performance - something that would have bewildered the Sioux of the old generations."[3] Some time later,[4] the element of torture on a modest scale was reintroduced. Although considerable modification of traditional traits has occurred and perhaps much of the original religious impact and significance have been lost, the Sun Dance remains an awesome and colorful ritual. Its performance brings the Sioux together to dance in the social powwows and fraternize in the encampments. Admission charges and commercial enterprises, such as food and drink stands, aid the economy. The Sun Dance strongly reinforces Indianness and helps maintain Sioux tradition.

This paper will describe the observed aspects of the 1968 Sun Dance. Although the social gatherings and dances of the afternoons, evenings and the fourth day have superseded the Sun Dance proper in popular interest and attendance, they will not be described in any detail here.

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*The writers would like to thank Frank Fools Crow, Edgar Red Cloud, Jake Herman, Paul Apple and the other Oglalas who aided us in better understanding the Sun Dance.

[1] Hyde, George E., *A Sioux Chronicle*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1956, p. 75.
Sandoz, Mari, *These Were the Sioux*, A Mayflower Book, p. 89.

[2] Hyde, *op.cit.*, p. 76, Sandoz, *op.cit.*, p. 89.
The Sun Dance revival "supposedly took place at Pine Ridge in 1934" and the element of torture was reintroduced in 1960 - communication from Stephen Feraca.

[3] Hyde, *op.cit.*, p. 76

[4] According to some Indians, this occurred in 1958.

General Preparation

The planning and execution of the Sun Dance is conducted by the Executive Committee of the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council. The Committee selects the dates for the four days of the Sun Dance, this year August 1 through August 4. Money was appropriated from tribal funds to prepare the camp site and Sun Dance grounds. This involved cutting the grass, patching fences, building toilets, putting fresh pine boughs for the shade covering the spectators' section, grading the rutted dirt roads leading to and from the grounds, installing an electric public address system, etc. Some of the work was performed by National Youth Corps workers, prisoners from the local jail and volunteers. The renovation of the grounds began July 22nd. The Executive Committee hired cooks to prepare meals for the participants and campers and gatekeepers who received $1.50 an hour. Also hired was an announcer (Paul Apple) and the Sun Dance Chief, (Frank Fools Crow) who takes the responsibility for conducting rituals and supervises all participants and helpers. The medicine man chosen for this role receives $150.00 plus incidental expenses. The singers and dancers were paid $6.00 a day plus their meals. The total cost for the above listed expenses was approximately $500.00. This money is recouped and a profit made from admission charges and fees imposed on commercial ventures.

Preparation of the Sun Dance Pole

The ceremony of cutting the tree to be used as the Sun Dance pole took place the evening before the beginning of the Sun Dance (July 31) and after the preparation of ritual objects used upon it. A hole to secure the pole was dug in the center of the Sun Dance arena by a group of tribal workers. Fools Crow, the Sun Dance Chief, with a group of men then drove in a large truck to a wooded creek bottom a mile or so distant. Following them, were a number of observers (ourselves included) and the wife of a medicine man.

Fools Crow considered several possible cottonwood trees and discussed their suitability with one of the dancers. The degree of straightness of the tree seemed to be a major consideration. After a tree was selected, Fools Crow said a prayer and made four cuts with an axe on the tree. The axe was then handed to one of the workers who cut down the tree. All present helped carry the tree to the truck. The lower branches of the tree were cut off, leaving only the leafy boughs on the top. Some nearby cherry bushes about 6 to 8 feet long were cut, tied into a bundle and fastened cross-like on the sacred pole. Above this were tied two rawhide figures, one representing a man holding a pipe and hoop, and the other a buffalo. Yellow and red pieces of cloth with tobacco pouches tied on each end of the cloth were affixed still higher with a whistle tied along one edge of the cloth. The cloths were then fastened to the top of the tree among the leafy branches. While lying on the ground some long hanging cords were tied about three quarters of the way up from the foot of the pole. The pole was placed in the Sun Dance circle by having four men hold it while the truck backed slowly under the pole and the men lowered it into the hole which had been dug earlier. While the earth was being tamped around the pole, Fools Crow and one of the dancers sat facing east and smoked the Medicine Pipe.

First Day of the Sun Dance

Any man who wishes to perform in the Sun Dance rite is supposed to approach the medicine man in charge and offer him a pipe. He then must explain his reasons for wanting to participate. If these are accepted, the medicine man instructs him on the procedures and tells him to be ready on a specified date. As far as we know, neither the dancers nor the medicine man underwent the traditional preparation to any degree before the beginning of the Sun Dance period. Last year, however, the medicine man said that he had fasted on Bear Butte for 4 days before the initiation of the ceremonies.

The first day dawned cold, and the camp announcer called several times for the participants before they torpidly responded in the half-light. Fools Crow and a woman participant, along earlier, had been making preparations in the Medicine Lodge (a canvas tipi in which Fools Crow lived during the preparation and Sun Dance period). About a half hour after sunrise Fools Crow and an assistant set up four altars. The western one, and most elaborate, consisted of a mound of sage and two small forked peeled sticks, colored vermillion. These were connected by a crossbar and decorated with red, white and black cloths. To each side was a taller wand, one with a red and the other with a black cloth banner. The other three altars: east, south and north, consisted of tall vermillioned rods with red and black cloth banners. The altars were placed within the periphery of the Sun Dance arena and during their preparation, the singers collected around the drum, placed outside of the periphery and under a pine bough shade. No spectators had collected as yet and the few people around were heavily bundled against the cold. An occasional drum beat or eagle whistle noise was heard.

In the meantime, the dancers had gathered at the Medicine Lodge. There were six men dressed in robes (blankets) fastened around the waist and reaching to the ankles. They were barefoot and naked above the waist except for ornaments. Each wore a crown of sage, sage anklets and bracelets and carried a hoop of sage. Four of the six dancers were Oglalas, one was a Rosebud Sioux and the sixth a White man. The six women present did not enter the Medicine Lodge. They wore buckskin dresses, silver studded belts, breastplates, moccasins and headbands. They also wore anklets and bracelets of sage.

A buffalo skull had been placed in front of the tipi and sacks of Bull Durham tobacco had been tied to the horns. An uncovered sweat lodge had been set up nearby, but not used.

Fools Crow had all of the dancers line up. An elderly man carrying the buffalo skull was first, the women next and then the male dancers. Fools Crow was last. While in this formation, Fools Crow told them in Lakota "When we go out there I want you to forget any feelings of dislike you have towards anyone. Make yourself pitiful in front of the Great Spirit. Show Him all the respect you have for Him. Remember to pray always".

The procession entered the sacred circle of the Sun Dance grounds with the way being cleared by a number of officious, even ominous "police". The singers began to chant and drum. The procession proceeded to the left and outside of the arena in a clockwise direction to enter the sacred ground by the east portal. This was soon after the sun had appeared above the grassy hills to the east. The buffalo head was placed on the west altar. The dancers lined up four times, facing each direction and a long prayer was given each time. They lined up next in front of the west altar, facing east in the direction of the sun and the Sun Dance Pole; and the second song of the morning began with the dancers all performing the gazing-at-the-sun- ceremony, eyes fixed, dancing, eagle whistles blowing. This song ended with the first pipe presenting ceremony by one of the dancers (they each presented in turn, one after each song) to the pipe bearer, seated near the singers. Each song was followed by an intermission.

The pattern of changing directions was as follows: when the dancers were facing south, Fools Crow stood to the west of the dancers and as the song started, he turned to his right, went behind the dancers and came around to the east.

He then turned west to stand in front of the dancers. The dancer offered his pipe to the singers. Fools Crow turned to his right, making a complete circle and grabbed the dancer by his sage bracelet and led him to the singers. The dancer offered his pipe. The pipe bearer stood up, rubbed his hands together as if wiping them and raised his hands over his head, forward and extended with the palms facing north. The dancer extended the pipe, but his offer was not accepted. The pipe bearer brought his hand down as if to take it, but he merely rubbed his palm all over the pipe. The dancer seemed disappointed by this rejection. After the bearer touched the pipe, he again rubbed his hands together. This procedure was repeated two more times. The fourth time, he turned his palms backwards and brought them even with the pipe. The dancer then laid the pipe in the bearer's hands. With the acceptance of the pipe, the dancer was led back to the line of dancers.

After the fifth song, one of the dancers sacrificed 60 pieces of flesh from his upper arms and shoulders. Fools Crow cut multiple, small bits of skin from each arm with a needle and a razor, producing a trickle of blood reaching to the elbow. Before this took place, a dancer and a woman participant were placed in each of the four directions. One dancer was seated at the Sun Dance Pole. The dancer who was to sacrifice sat in a bed of sage by the pole. He acted as though he were in great pain. He held a hand in the air and prayed and cried. After being helped to his feet, he shook hands with Fools Crow and thanked him. All during the cutting, the other dancers were dancing vigorously, sun gazing and whistling.

After two more songs were sung four times, the ceremony ended and the dancers left for a group lunch.

Second Day of the Sun Dance

On the second day, nine men and seven women participated. At sunrise, the dancers in the Medicine Lodge were given instructions for several minutes, then placed outside in a line facing west. A long discourse by Fools Crow was listened to intently. Following this, they marched to the arena while the first song was sung. As before, they circled the arena clockwise, and entered the east portal Four stops were made on the way. The bearer of the buffalo skull, who did not visibly participate otherwise, and was dressed in ordinary clothes and a heavy coat, placed the skull in its altar of sage (western altar) and the pipes were placed there also. The dancers lined up west of the Sun Dance Pole, facing the rising sun, and there was a long silent prayer. Fools Crow then took each woman, in turn, seizing her by her sage wristlet and leading her completely around the pole, to reposition her, with the other women, in a line east of the Sun Dance Pole, still facing the sun. A prayer was said after each one took her new place. That done, Fools Crow with hat in hand made a very long speech to the audience in Lakota. He then sang, waveringly at first and then more strongly, a long solo. This was followed by another, shorter, speech. He replaced his hat, returned to a position near the Sun Dance Pole and the second song began, the dancers moving vigorously in the Gazing-At-The-Sun Ceremony. This, as always was accompanied by eagle bone whistles, and lasted about 15 minutes.

On the second day, Fools Crow was more elaborately dressed in a tall black hat with eagle fluff plume; a long red warshirt with hair pipe breastplate; an otter-skin mantle, front and back decorated with small round mirrors; an armband, and small, finely worked, round-toed, low heeled boots. He carried a large white buckskin medicine bag in his right hand, and a black, heavily-beaded and decorated robe folded over his left arm. He led or directed almost every detail of the ceremonial. He moved the dancers by leading them by the arm from place to place, either one at a time or as a group, since they seemed too dazed or preoccupied with the Gazing-At-The-Sun to be in any way autonomous or adaptive.

The dances were separated by pipe ceremonies, an intermission, a pipe ceremony and then resumption of the dancing. The dancers rested on the ground in a secluded part of the arbor. No food or water was taken, and as the morning wore on the exceedingly hot sun and exertion must have been tiring. Members of the audience, and the singers were careful to remain in the shade of the arbor. The dancers and singers were then led by Fools Crow to a meal prepared only for them in a nearby lodge.

Edgar Red Cloud, the principal singer, said that seven Sun Dance songs exist. Each was sung four times, in succession before the next was sung.

Third Day of the Sun Dance

At dawn, about 5 a.m. the camp was astir. At 6 a.m. a large crowd was present, for this last day and "for the piercing." About 10 older men were working on the Pole and altars. A sweat lodge was built, but not covered or used, part of the truncation of the ritual this year. Near it, a fire with many large stones, was smoking. The dancers got ready in the Medicine Lodge, and as they came outside to wait, Fools Crow commenced an extended speech about Crazy Horse, touching upon his history, personality and valor. This topic and timing may relate to the special qualities, still treasured by the Oglalas for which the "strange man" is remembered - his war record, his mystic powers, his indomitable opposition to White power and his assassination. Following this a long prayer was given. The dancers lined up in a semi-circle around the fires, several dancers (White Persons) present on the first and second day had dropped out, but others brought the total today to 8 women and 11 men and an elaborately costumed small boy. Water was poured (after the prayer) on the fire and hot stones, providing a sudden cloud of steam, and symbolizing the sweat lodge purification. The dancers led by Fools Crow and the skull bearer, and preceded by a number of serious and menacing "police" to clear the way, circled the outside of the arbor, entered the east portal, made a full circle within the Sun Dance Pole. Pipes were offered to the sky, and a prayer was given by Fools Crow in a loud voice. The dancers were then led in a circle around the west altar and were lined up again facing the Sun Dance Pole. A second song was then sung and the whistles began, the participants again gazing fixedly at the rising sun. (At this point an Indian man stepped into the arena to take a photograph, was instantly reprimanded publicly, and his camera confiscated). After the completion of the second song the dancers were led, one by one, to positions by the four altars. Fools Crow then prepared for the first piercing. A woman dancer was seated at the Sun Dance Pole on a bed of sage covered with a buffalo robe. A number of cuts were placed on her upper arm, the procedure taking 5 or 10 minutes. She was then led back to the line of dancers (the singing and dancing had continued meanwhile). The male dancers were then one by one, placed prone and a steel skewer about 8" long was pushed through a fold of skin over the left breast. The puncture wounds were about an inch or less apart, and through them a chokecherry wood skewer was passed. This was tied securely to a leather thong. The dancer then arose and was led to a position perhaps 15 paces from the pole, where a long rawhide thong was tied to the breast thong, the other end having already been tied high on the Sun Dance Pole. When all had been pierced and punctured,

A pipe offering after the piercing ceremony, with the Sun Dancers in the background.

they danced four times toward the pole and "struck" it with their pipes and medicine wands, and then moving to the full extent of their ropes began to throw themselves violently backward. Several thongs came out immediately, others required repeated and violent dancing and pulling, throwing their entire weight on the skewers. The last dancer (Catches), was so violently throwing himself, that when the skin broke he ran backwards many yards before catching his balance. Through a long ceremony thereafter, the participants dancing in place, Fools Crow applied first one, then another ointment or material to the wounds with his finger tips. Several lined-up dances followed, then a general address was made by Fools Crow for offerings of money and presents to the dancers "in return for their sacrifice for all the people." Two men were excepted from the piercing ceremony (McGaa and one other).

During the intermission, extended comments were made by the crier, to the audience in English, about the significances of the ceremony. Next, Fools Crow led a young girl from a secluded part of the arbor to the Sun Dance Pole, and conferred with the crier, who then announced that she had, some months ago been severely injured in an auto accident. "The doctors said she would never walk again, but the medicine men drew upon their powers and here she is walking. A prayer will be said for her", and a barely audible one was said, by Fools Crow.

After two more dances and intermissions, a short public speech in Lakota was given by Fools Crow. The dancers were then put by him, in a line between the pole and west altar, facing the pole. A song was begun, and they circled the pole, stopped in a circle, advanced and struck the pole four times, circled it once again, and formed a line facing south. Lame Deer, the pipe receiver, conducted an arm raising ceremony four times before each dance, moving very slowly, then took the pipe, held it briefly, and returned it. After an intermission, the dancers returned for a last song, then formed a "receiving line" and greeted with a handshake or a ceremonial touching of the pipe stem on their forehead. The Sun Dance then appeared to be over. The participants (it was about noon) retired to the Medicine Lodge in formal procession out the east portal and around the outside of the Sun Dance grounds (wa-ho-kio-pio). Lame Deer conducted a prayer at the sweat lodge to each of the four directions. This concluded the visible manifestations of the Sun Dance for 1968.

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PINE RIDGE RESEARCH BULLETIN

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
DIVISION OF INDIAN HEALTH
COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM

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PINE RIDGE RESERVATION POPULATION BY DISTRICTS, COMMUNITIES AND VILLAGE-RURAL DISTRIBUTION

District Population

The Reservation which comprises 2,786,538 acres or 4,353 square miles[1] is divided into eight political districts for the purpose of electing the Tribal Council. The present district division is based on the Boss Farmer or farm districts of the Bureau of Indian Affairs which were in existence at the time of the division. Formerly a Boss Farmer was stationed in each district and his role was somewhat similar to that of the Agent or Superintendent but on a district level. The only change in districting involved increasing the Boss Farmer districts from seven to eight by the division of Pass Creek into two districts, Pass Creek and LaCreek. On December 14, 1953, the Indians in a reservationwide referendum approved of the political districting by a vote of 1401 to 1348.

Representation on the Tribal Council is in accordance with the district population - one representative for every 300 inhabitants and one extra if the remaining population after dividing by 300 is at least 150. At the present time LaCreek has 3 Council members, Pass Creek - 3, Wakpamni - 2 plus 5 from Pine Ridge village, Porcupine - 4, Medicine Root - 4, Eagle Nest - 3, White Clay - 2 plus one each from Red Shirt Table and Oglala Jr., and Wounded Knee - 4.

Each district in turn has its own council composed of a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer. Each sub-district sends one representative to the District Council meetings.

The approximate populations of each district along with the ethnic group distribution by population and number of household heads are as follows:

---

[1] The Pine Ridge Reservation is the second largest in the U.S. and is over twice the size of the state of Delaware.

Table 1
DISTRICT POPULATIONS AND HOUSEHOLDS BY ETHNIC GROUP

District	Total Population	Total HH	Population By Ethnic Group MB	Population By Ethnic Group FB	Population By Ethnic Group NI	Household Heads By Ethnic Group MB	Household Heads By Ethnic Group FB	Household Heads By Ethnic Group NI
Eagle Nest	1275	327	396	382	497	80	91	156
%			31	30	39	24	28	48
LaCreek	2365	684	541	75	1749	102	17	565
%			23	3	74	15	2	83
Medicine Root	1204	228	460	621	123	75	114	39
%			38	52	10	33	50	17
Pass Creek	667	143	269	243	155	46	48	49
%			40	37	23	32	34	34
Porcupine	1085	211	344	621	120	53	122	36
%			32	57	11	25	58	17
Wakpamni	4207	807	2273	1256	678	351	254	202
%			54	30	16	43	32	25
White Clay	1081	196	330	710	41	43	133	20
%			30	66	4	22	68	10
Wounded Knee	1309	260	439	801	69	87	146	27
%			34	61	5	34	56	10

HH - Household heads
MB - Mixed Blood
FB - Full Blood
NI - Non-Indian

Wakpamni and LaCreek districts are by far the most populous, together they account for almost half of the Reservation population. The population of Eagle Nest, Medicine Root, Porcupine, White Clay and Wounded Knee are, speaking in broad terms, rather similar. Pass Creek with a population of 667 is the least populated district.

Ethnic Distribution

The predominately Full Blood districts are White Clay, Wounded Knee, Porcupine and Medicine Root. Only one district, Wakpamni, has a majority of Mixed Bloods. LaCreek is the only predominantly Non-Indian district. It is interesting that the two districts with the smallest percentage of Whites, White Clay and Wounded Knee, have the highest percentage of Full Bloods. Eagle Nest and Pass Creek have an almost equal percentage of Mixed Bloods and Full Bloods.

In considering the proportion of the total Reservation population residing in each district and the proportion of the total population of each ethnic group residing in each district, one finds the following distribution:

Table 2
PROPORTION OF TOTAL POPULATION RESIDING IN EACH DISTRICT, ACCORDING TO ETHNIC GROUPS

District	% of Total Population	% of Total Indian Population	% of Total Full Blood Population	% of Total Mixed Blood Population	% of Total Non-Indian Population
Eagle Nest	9.7	8.0	8.1	7.8	14.5
LaCreek	17.9	6.3	1.6	10.7	51.0
Medicine Root	9.1	11.1	13.2	9.1	3.6
Pass Creek	5.1	5.2	5.2	5.3	4.5
Porcupine	8.2	9.9	13.2	6.8	3.5
Wakpamni	31.9	36.2	26.7	45.0	19.7
White Clay	8.2	10.6	15.1	6.5	1.2
Wounded Knee	9.9	12.7	17.0	8.7	2.0

Wakpamni District accounts for nearly one third of the total Reservation population and over one third of the Indian population. Over one quarter of the Full Bloods live in Wakpamni while the majority of the remainder live in Wounded Knee, White Clay, Porcupine and Medicine Root. The highest concentration of Mixed Bloods is in Wakpamni, 45% of all Mixed Bloods. The remainder of the Mixed Blood population is scattered fairly evenly over the other seven districts with LaCreek having the highest percentage and Pass Creek the lowest percentage. Over half of the White population resides in LaCreek District while Wakpamni and Eagle Nest account for the majority of the remaining Whites.

Household Size and Distribution

The average size of the Indian household is 5.39 as compared to 3.35 among Non-Indian households on the Reservation and 3.38 in the general U.S. population (1960). Indian household size ranges from one to 21 persons, whereas Non-Indian households contain from one to 14 persons. Single person households are more prevalent among Non-Indians, accounting for 19% of the households in comparison to 11% of Indian households.

The average size of households in which a Full Blood is household head is higher (5.72) than households in which a Mixed Blood is household head (5.04). Although Mixed Bloods are in majority populationwise, the majority of household heads are Full Blood (52%).

As the average size of the Non-Indian household is less than the Indian household, a higher percentage of the households are Non-Indian than the total Non-Indian population of each district. In other words, the proportion of Non-Indian households is higher than the proportion of Non-Indian population (see Table 1). For example, although Non-Indians account for 74% of the population of Lacreek District, 83% of the households have a Non-Indian head. Almost half of the Eagle Nest District households have Non-Indian heads whereas only 39% of the population is Non-Indian.

Village-Rural Distribution

One half of the Indian population lives in villages. The Mixed Bloods are predominately village dwellers (59%) while the Full Bloods are more likely than the Mixed Bloods to live outside of the villages, either in isolated houses or in rural clusters, but 40% of the Full Bloods live in villages. Also, the Full Blood is more likely to live in rural cluster housing (18%) than Mixed Bloods (13%). The Non-Indian population is predominately rural, 55% live outside of a village.

The fact that Indians are increasingly drawn into the villages is due to a number of factors: the leasing or sale of land allotments so that fewer Indians reside on their land, the greater employment opportunities available in the villages, the construction of tribal housing units in the villages, the location of schools and commercial facilities in the villages or just simply a desire to be where the action is or to be nearer to relatives. A few Indian families maintain two houses, one out in the country and one in a village. Often, under these circumstances, a family will live in the country during the summer months and move into the village when school opens or when the winter weather begins.

Community Populations

There were a total of 89 communities which were listed as communities of residence by respondents on the Baseline Data Study. Some adjacent communities were grouped together for the sake of convenience. In consequence, we have population statistics for 74 communities. Since there is considerable disagreement over community borders and in regard to what constitutes a community, to determine the community of a given household, we used the criterion of respondent perception of the community location of his or her household.

The size of communities varies from a one household community of 5 persons to 522 household community with 2764 inhabitants. The following is a table of population and number of household heads by ethnic group of all Pine Ridge Reservation communities with a population of over 100 inhabitants. The population figures include both village and rural residents.

Table 3
COMMUNITY POPULATIONS AND HOUSEHOLDS BY ETHNIC GROUP
(Communities with a population of 100 or more*)

Community	District	Total Population	Total HH	Population by Ethnic Group MB	FB	NI	HH by Ethnic Group MB	FB	NI
Pine Ridge	Wakpamni	2764	522	1787	650	327	286	127	109
%				65	23	12	55	24	21
Martin	LaCreek	1907	561	441	55	1411	78	14	469
%				23	3	74	14	2	84
Wanblee	Eagle Nest	742	178	291	354	97	59	82	37
%				39	48	13	33	46	21
Kyle	Medicine Root	591	112	287	245	59	43	46	23
%				49	41	10	38	41	21
Manderson	Wounded Knee	564	111	201	330	33	37	59	15
%				36	58	6	33	53	14
Porcupine	Porcupine	491	103	182	219	90	30	47	26
%				37	45	18	29	46	25
Wounded Knee	Wounded Knee	406	80	111	285	10	19	55	6
%				27	70	3	24	69	7
Batesland	Wakpamni	379	92	92	69	218	16	10	66
%				24	18	58	17	11	72

*For populations of smaller communities see Population Register of Pine Ridge Reservation Communities.

		Total	Total	Population by Ethnic Group			HH by Ethnic Group		
Community	District	Population	HH	MB	FB	NI	MB	FB	NI
Allen	Pass Creek	346	71	166	138	42	28	28	15
%				48	40	12	29	29	21
Calico	Wakpamni	302	60	126	169	7	22	37	1
%				42	56	2	37	62	1
Long Valley - Plainview	Eagle Nest	267	73	58	9	200	9	4	60
%				22	3	75	12	6	82
Loneman-Makasan	White Clay	255	44	89	165	1	15	28	1
%				35	65	34	64	64	2
Oglala-Lakeside	White Clay	191	42	64	99	28	5	23	14
%				33	52	15	12	55	33
Potato Creek-Green Valley-Lakeview	Medicine Root	186	41	45	97	44	10	19	12
%				24	52	24	25	46	29
American Horse	Medicine Root	154	28	55	99	0	8	20	0
%				36	64	0	29	71	0
Vetal	LaCreek	150	38	32	0	118	8	0	30
%				21	0	79	21	0	79
Brotherhood	Porcupine	146	24	23	120	3	2	20	2
%				16	82	2	8	84	8
Oglala Jr.	White Clay	146	22	36	110	0	4	18	0
%				25	75	0	18	82	0

		Total	Total	Population by Ethnic Group			HH by Ethnic Group		
Community	District	Population	HH	MB	FB	NI	MB	FB	NI
Tuthill	LaCreek	142	46	28	4	110	9	0	37
%				20	3	77	20	0	80
Payabya (No. 4)	Wakpamni	136	22	39	96	1	4	17	1
%				29	70	1	18	77	5
Wolf Creek	Wakpamni	130	22	71	45	14	5	13	4
%				54	35	11	23	59	18
Butte	Porcupine	128	22	35	93	0	5	17	0
%				27	73	0	23	77	0
Collier (He Crow)	White Clay	127	19	20	107	0	2	17	0
%				16	84	0	10	90	0
Evergreen	Porcupine	119	23	32	87	0	7	16	0
%				27	73	0	30	70	0
Wakpamni Lake	Wakpamni	119	27	24	95	0	5	22	0
%				20	80	0	18	82	0
Swett	Pass Creek	111	29	16	0	95	3	0	26
%				14	0	86	10	0	90
Slim Buttes	Wakpamni	108	17	50	46	12	4	10	3
%				46	43	11	23	59	18

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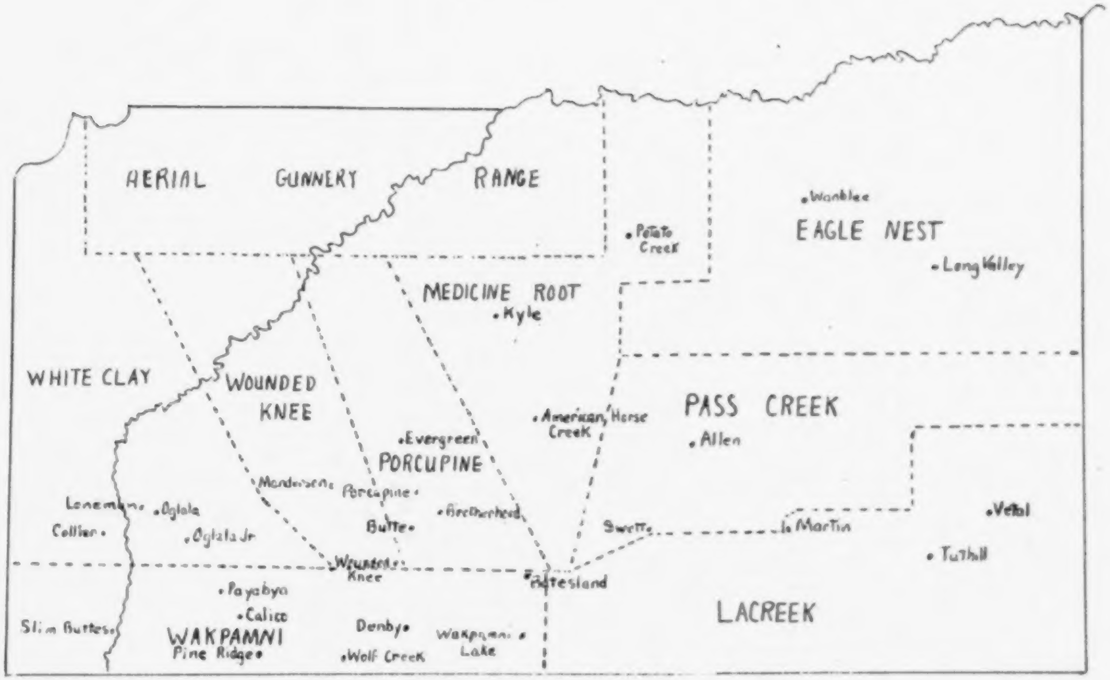
AERIAL GUNNERY RANGE
Potato Creek
Wanblee
EAGLE NEST
Long Valley
MEDICINE ROOT
Kyle
WHITE CLAY
WOUNDED KNEE
Evergreen
PORCUPINE
American Horse Creek
PASS CREEK
Allen
Manderson
Porcupine
Brotherhood
Loneman
Oglala
Collier
Oglala Jr
Butte
Swett
Martin
Vetal
Tuthill
Wounded Knee
Batesland
Payabya
Calico
Slim Buttes
WAKPAMNI
Pine Ridge
Denby
Wolf Creek
Wakpamni Lake
LACREEK

The most surprising statistic is the population of Pine Ridge village. The fact that Pine Ridge has 2764 inhabitants means that it is larger than the small towns which border on the Reservation and which have many more commercial and recreational facilities than Pine Ridge. Pine Ridge has the highest concentration of Mixed Bloods than any of the larger communities and accounts for one fifth of the total Reservation population.

Martin which is predominately White and located in the ceded portion of the Reservation is the second largest community. A large percentage of Martin, however, is rural.

Wanblee, the third largest community, is especially interesting because 83% of the total Indian population of Eagle Nest District is concentrated in and around Wanblee village.

Wakpamni District has the highest number of communities (7) with populations of over 100: Pine Ridge, Batesland, Calico, Payabya, Wolf Creek, Wakpamni Lake and Slim Buttes. Both Porcupine and White Clay have four communities of over 100 inhabitants. Wounded Knee District has two of the larger communities or say two of the top ten: Manderson and Wounded Knee.

Of the 27 communities of over 100 residents, all but six are predominately Indian. The predominately White communities are Martin, Batesland, Long Valley, Vetal, Tuthill and Swett. Communities with a majority of Full Bloods are Manderson, Wounded Knee, Calico, Loneman, Oglala, Potato Creek, American Horse, Brotherhood, Oglala Jr., Payabya, Butte, Collier, Evergreen and Wakpamni Lake. The predominately Mixed Blood communities are Pine Ridge and Wolf Creek, both in Wakpamni District.

Although a number of communities have informal committees or councils, only Pine Ridge, Kyle, Martin and Payabya are formally organized.

FAMILY PLANNING AT PINE RIDGE

Introduction

"Family planning enables a couple to decide how many children they will have and when they will come. When a couple practices family planning they are able to have sexual relations whenever they wish and as often as they wish without the fear of pregnancy, unless of course they wish to have a baby. They do this by using methods of birth control that are harmless to both of them, but prevent pregnancy." (Bogue p. 56).

The low income family is most in need of family planning. The family is liable to be larger than the parents wanted or can support. Children are frequently born less than a year apart, and the woman may first become pregnant in her middle or late teens, before she is ready to assume responsibilities of parenthood. The young children cannot get the attention they need from the too-often-pregnant mother. Financial problems, as well as over-crowded noisy surroundings, discourage the children from continuing in school. Thus, inability to control family size and to space children hinder childhood development and lessen educational drive, leading to a perpetuation of the poverty cycle.

Family planning and the extensive sex education necessary for its optimal utilization clearly will not solve all poverty problems. However, it may help by putting families on a more stable financial and emotional base - an important step in combating poverty.

Here at Pine Ridge, data on the distribution and utilization of birth control pills (generally the most effective means of birth control) and on the insertion of the intrauterine devices, has been kept at the Public Health Service Hospital for the past 2 1/4 years. During this period 426 women which represents about 25% of the women on the Pine Ridge Reservation in the reproductive years of 16 through 45 (N=1736) have received birth control pills. Also, about 40 IUD's have been inserted and about 15 women have received other birth control assistance. Thus, allowing for the fact that many women have tried several methods, approximately 450 women from the Pine Ridge Reservation, which represents 26% of the total number of women at Pine Ridge in their reproductive years have received family planning assistance at the Pine Ridge Hospital since April, 1966. (It may be argued that the age choice of 16-45 is either too narrow or too broad. The Planned Parenthood Federation suggests the use of the age bracket from 18-44. If this were applied to Pine Ridge, nearly 31% of eligible women could be considered to have received birth control assistance.)

Since there has never been any educational campaign concerning birth control, this percentage of women coming in for birth control information is fairly high, probably indicating motivation on the part of Indian mothers to plan their family. The only form of information about birth control that is given at the Hospital is a suggestion to the obstetrics patients that birth control assistance is available for them if they so desire. Recently, the Public Health Nurses and the Community Health Aides have also been letting women they visit know that family planning assistance is available if they want it.

As of early July, 1968, only 72 women (17%) of those who began taking the pills could be classified as still taking the pills regularly. In addition, 26 women (6%) are currently using the birth control pill but are not regular in returning to refill prescriptions. These women can be divided into two categories. The more common includes women who get two months supply of pills every three months. The less common category includes women who seem to come in nearly every month and get a two months' supply of pills. There is a fairly large amount of pill passing in the community, and it is felt that many of the women in the first category get some pills from women in the second category and thus actually have fairly effective protection. Thus, approximately 96 women, or only about 23% of those who have received the pills at one time or another in the last 2 1/4 years, are still on the pill.

The majority of the remainder of the women who began using birth control pills dropped out of the program very early. 146 women (34%) filled only their initial two months prescription and did not return. An additional 50 women (12%) refilled their prescription only once. Therefore, 46% of the total number of women on the Pine Ridge Reservation who received pills at the PHS Hospital (and field clinics) dropped out within the first several months of taking the pill. Many explanations have been offered in an attempt to explain this extremely high drop-out rate. The relative importance and validity of these explanations have not been firmly established, but the following represent some of those which, in my view, are the more common reasons for discontinuance of birth control medication:

1. Women take their initial prescription to satisfy the physician providing their post partum care.

2. Some women may be doing a favor for a friend on the pills by picking up what amounts to a refill for the friend by asking for the pills themselves.

3. Objections of the husband.

4. Scare articles appearing in the popular press.

5. Fear of the medication due to previously unexplained, and therefore unexpected, side effects such as spotting, slight headache, nausea, or change in character of the menstrual flow. The drop-out rate is manyfold higher than that expected for medical reasons.

6. Difficulty of getting to the hospital or field clinic for a refill. Refills must be obtained more frequently here than from most clinics or physicians due to PHS regulations prohibiting distribution of more than a two months supply at a time.

It must be reemphasized that there has been no attempt to substantiate these explanations by objective research, and they represent merely my own observations of some of the more prevalent reasons for the high drop-out rate observed.

The final major category is the 19% of the women who have stopped after taking the pill regularly for a period of 6 months or longer. The majority of these women probably discontinued taking the pill in order to have another child. An additional 9% of the total were in their first or second pill cycle at the time of the study.

CHARACTERISTICS OF VARIOUS GROUPS

The average family size of women who began taking the pills is 3.98 children with a median of 4.18. The range is from 0-15. An effort to correlate persistence in continuing with the pills to family size showed a somewhat greater motivation among those women whose family size was over the mean. 14% of the women with 0 to 3 children (under the mean) were regularly taking the pill at the time of the study as compared with 18% of those with 4 to 7 children and 20% of those with 8 to 15 children. Similarly, 50% of the women with fewer children than the mean dropped out of the program very early as compared with 38% of the women with more children than the mean.

The average and median age of the pill user is 29 years, with a range of 14 to 49. Women in the 25 to 29 year age grouping seemed to have the most success (or persistence) with birth control pills than those in any other age grouping, 21% were still on the pill compared to the mean of 17%. The women under 20 show a markedly greater drop-out rate than any other group. Over 62% of them dropped out in the first two refill periods as compared to the mean of 46% and the 25-29 age groups, 39%. These figures may simply represent a desire among the younger population to have more children (or less motivation not to have children).

The average length of time on the pill for those women who are presently on a regular program of contraception (17% of the total) is approximately 14 months. Thus, it is clear that the pill is acceptable and desired by some of the Pine Ridge population.

DISCUSSION

There are clearly great inadequacies in the present family planning program in the Pine Ridge PHS Service Unit. Although the program has reached a fairly large percentage of the women on the Reservation who are in the proper age range for birth control, a distressingly large percentage have dropped out of the program very early. Some of the possible reasons for this phenomenon have been mentioned above. A lack of proper and/or adequate instruction in the use of the pills and the expected side effects may have accounted for a large number of these drop-outs. Hopefully, this problem is partially on the way to some solution with printed instructions on the use of the pills and the expected side effects going to each patient to supplement the verbal instructions received from the physician. Also, the Public Health Nurses and the Community Health Aides have been given some instruction in this field in order to enable them to more adequately handle problems arising with the pill when they encounter them during their home visits. The problem of refills still remains and unless the PHS rule preventing a distribution of more than a two months' supply at a time can be changed, it shall remain. Ideally, women who have been on the pills for 3 or more cycles without any difficulties could generally be given a six-months supply. One argument against this position is the lack of proper storage space in many homes. Male resistance to birth control is extremely difficult to evaluate. Many experts in family planning feel that many men in disadvantaged societies regard many children as a definite and concrete manifestation of their virility. This may well be valid in many families on the Reservation where the wife's job, land lease money, or other income is an important if not a more important and steady source of support for the family than the man's financial contributions. Also, many men do not understand what the pills are and how they work. They may fear a loss in the woman's sexual drive, correlating this with her ability to have children. Hopefully, the increased effort towards educating the woman may partially alleviate this problem, but a male sex education program (perhaps utilizing the male C.H.A.s) would be helpful.

What about the nearly three-quarters of the women on the Reservation in their reproductive years who have never utilized family planning assistance? The priority of family planning on the Reservation is clearly not as high as in many urban areas where the desirability of family planning is frequently higher due to more severe overcrowding, a longer life expectancy and coupled with a lower infant mortality, and a less closely knit or extended family group. It is hoped that the knowledge of the availability of family planning assistance and what family planning means will become more widespread, but this does not necessarily imply a marked increase in the utilization of family planning assistance. Other significant factors in the low utilization rate include:

1. The fact that nearly 46% of the Indian population on the Reservation is Catholic. As the current debate concerning the Pope's recent encyclical letter on birth control indicates this does not necessarily mean that this section of the population will not take advantage of birth control programs.

2. There is a definite sentiment in the older generation of women on the Reservation that sex and everything associated with sex (therefore birth control) is a subject which is not to be discussed in public or with anyone other than your husband. How much of this attitude has filtered to the younger generation is not known and deserves to be evaluated before any attempt at sex education is initiated.

3. Male resistance has been discussed previously.

4. The feeling that the Indian is a vanishing race may be an important motivating factor towards a large family.

5. The feeling among the small percentage of women that more children means increased welfare benefits.

6. Fear of birth control pills resulting from the popular press or gossip is extremely difficult to evaluate and its significance varies with the general run of articles appearing in the press and the experience (s) of women utilizing family planning in the various communities.

CONCLUSIONS

The family planning program at the Pine Ridge Service Unit has been unsatisfactory largely due to a lack of sufficient instruction in the use of family planning materials, coupled with inadequate follow-up and refill difficulties. Hopefully, some of these problems will be alleviated. It is the opinion of this writer that no real family planning crusade is needed or advisable on the Pine Ridge Reservation. A comprehensive sex education program for all segments of the community is necessary and would be much more beneficial than a program limited only to family planning.

William Primack
Medical Co-Step

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(1) BOGUE, Donald J. Inventory, Explanation, and Evaluation by Interview of Family Planning, Community and Family Study Center of University of Chicago, 1965.

This book is excellent for suggestions of methods to obtain demographic and some sociologic parameters which affect fertility. The results obtained with some of the information-gathering instruments discussed are also presented.

(2) BERELESON, B., Editor. International Conference on Family Planning Programs, Geneva, 1965. Chicago University Press, 1966.

Family planning programs and problems in many different parts of the world and from many different perspectives are presented in this collection of papers. There are several interesting discussions of the Catholic position on birth control, although the recent Papal encyclical make much of it outdated. There are reports on massive family planning programs in India, Formosa, Korea, Latin America, as well as a few in the U.S.

(3) RAINWATER, Lee. Family Design: Marital Sexuality, Family Size, and Contraception, Aldine Press, Chicago, 1965.

This is an excellent discussion of family planning attitudes and motivation in different American socio-economic groups as a result of several detailed and comprehensive studies done by the author. I recommend this book to anyone concerned with the provision of family planning services.

NEGATIVE ETHNIC IMAGE AMONG OGLALA SIOUX HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS*

Introduction

In the literature on ethnic attitudes greater emphasis has been placed on inter-group rather than intra-group attitudes. The opinion of one group towards another has been of greater interest than what a group thinks of itself. We believe that the latter is of equal importance in determining the course of acculturation and type of mental health problems encountered.

In this article we will discuss the intra-group attitudes and inter-group attitudes of Indian high school students from the Pine Ridge Reservation and White high school students from two control groups as expressed in our teenage study carried out by this Program in 1967.

Indian Students Attitudes Toward Indians

When asked if Indians have greater problems than other people, 62% of the Full Blood students and 48% of the Mixed Blood students said that Indians do have greater problems than other people. This was in comparison to 52% of the White students of Control Group I and 42% of the White students of Control Group II. There was no significant difference between the responses of Indians and Whites, but there were significant differences between the reasons expressed for Indians having greater problems.

First, let us look at the reasons Indian students gave for Indians having greater problems than other people.

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*Based on data taken from a preliminary report of the Community Mental Health Program entitled "A Sociological and Psychological Study of Oglala Sioux and Non-Indian High School Students" (1967). This is the third of a series of three articles concerned with sources of stress among Indian high school students.

Table 1
REASONS WHY INDIANS HAVE GREATER PROBLEMS
ACCORDING TO INDIAN STUDENTS, IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY

Reasons	%
Lack of education	30%
Drinking	22%
Poverty	11%
Prejudice of Whites	7%
Job situation	7%
Don't work	7%
Language	4%
Other	11%

The majority of Indian students blamed lack of success of Indians on the socio-economic environment, that is on circumstances such as the educational situation, poverty, lack of job opportunities, etc. "Indians don't have as much money and so can't go on to get an education. Can't buy books and pay tuition."

Many of the replies of the Indian students, however, revealed a negative image of Indians and a feeling that the Indians themselves were to blame for having greater problems than other people. Even statements blaming the socio-economic environment were often amended by phrases indicating Indian blame. "Lots of Indians drink and they don't help out in anything." "Most Indians don't have an education and are not really trying to improve themselves." "Poverty or don't have the facilities they need. Then there's the drinking problem and laziness. Not as bad as the Negroes. Negroes have more problems." "Marriages - they last about a month." The most negative statement was "Indians have greater problems because they're real stupid."

Interestingly enough, only 7% of the Indian students blamed discrimination for Indians having greater problems.

Some of the Indian students who felt that Indians do not have greater problems qualified their answer with statements such as "If they try real hard" or "If they take advantage of their opportunities."

When asked if Indians have less chances for success than Whites, only 18% of the Indian students replied in the affirmative. One Indian girl stated that Indians have more of a chance for success because "If he wants to go on to school, the Indian has everything paid for him."

Among students who said that Indians have less chance for success than Whites, the reasons given were somewhat similar to those for Indians having greater problems. "Lots of Indian kids go to high school and drop out so they don't have a chance" "If an Indian leaves the Reservation, the White man has a better chance to get a job because he is trained better and has a better education." "People take Whites on jobs because some Indians work for a while and quit."

White Students Attitudes Toward Indians

In considering White students replies to the reasons why Indians have greater problems than other people, we'd like to point out that half of the White students came from communities on or contiguous to the Pine Ridge Reservation (Control Group II) and half were from high schools located within a 150 mile radius of the Reservation (Control Group I). It is thus safe to say that all of the White students have had some contact with Indians or have at least observed Indian conduct.

Table 2
REASONS WHY INDIANS HAVE GREATER PROBLEMS ACCORDING TO WHITE STUDENTS, IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY

Reasons	%
Prejudice of Whites	56%
Lack of opportunities	13%
Poverty	4%
Drinking	2%
Lack of education	2%
Inferiority complex	2%
Exploitation	2%
Other	18%

The majority of White students blamed discrimination for Indians having more problems. In other words, they blamed their own ethnic group rather than the minority group. "White people look down on them." "Indians have to struggle harder because some people degrade them." "White people hold grudges against Indians." "Everybody's always pushing them around." "They've always been treated like an inferior race."

Other reasons expressed by White students for Indians having greater problems were: "They've had everything taken away from them and so have lost their spirit." "Because of living on the Reservation and not being able to mingle with Whites as much as they should." "Because they have an inferiority complex among people off the Reservation." "They've just been pushed back for so many years and now they're trying to do something for them."

The only negative comments were from high school students in Control Group II. "The government gives them too much money." "They have the same chances. If they want to they can do real good, but if they don't, they can drink their life away."

20% of the White students said that Indians have less chance for success than Whites, generally attributing this to prejudice.

"They have the same chances, but some White people try to hold them back." "In some areas they do, but not here. People are against them." "Here they usually hire a White person even if both have an equal education." One White student from Control Group II blamed the Indians. "Indians don't care and don't want to work."

Inter-group and Intra-group Trust

The students were also asked a series of questions concerned with the trustworthiness of most members of the three ethnic groups, Full Blood Indians, Mixed Blood Indians and Whites.

The most trusted group by Indians and Whites were the Whites, 68% of the White students and 58% of the Indian students said they trusted Whites in general. More Mixed Bloods (62%) than Full Bloods (53%) trusted Whites.

The next most trusted group were Full Blood Indians, 61% of the Whites and 58% of the Indians trusted Full Bloods. More Full Bloods (62%) than Mixed Bloods (55%) stated they trusted Full Bloods. Of interest is the fact that only 1% more of the Full Bloods than Whites trusted Full Bloods and more Whites than Indians trusted Full Bloods.

The least trusted group were Mixed Blood Indians, 49% of the White students expressed trust of Mixed Bloods in comparison to 34% of the Indian students. In fact a higher percentage of Whites than Mixed Bloods (41%) said they trusted Mixed Bloods. Only 24% of the Full Blood students expressed trust of Mixed Bloods. In summary, Whites expressed greater trust of Indians than Indians did of themselves and Indians almost as much trust of Whites as of themselves. Also, the White student was more inclined to feel that it depended on the individual, that one could not judge trustworthiness on a group basis. These students replied either "yes and no" or "it depends".

Source of the Negative Ethnic Image

Although we have no definitive evidence of the source of a negative ethnic image among Indian students, we can speculate about its etiology. First of all there are the historical origins. The Teton Sioux was in pre-conquest times one of the dominant tribes, if not the dominant tribe of the Northern Plains. They, along with the Cheyennes, defeated Custer. Later came the devastating realization of the overwhelming power of the U. S.

Army and their confinement on reservations. The Oglala Sioux, the leading subgroup of the Teton Sioux, based their hope on the Ghost Dance which was to rid them of the hated Whites and restore the buffalo. This hope was dashed completely with their defeat by the Cavalry at Wounded Knee. This along with forced dependency on the federal government explains much of the feeling of inferiority. As one Indian expressed it "Our spirit was lost at Wounded Knee and we have never recovered from it."

The loss of ethnic pride engendered by these historical events has been carried down through the generations and so is imparted to the young by Indians themselves. This along with over-dependency on the U.S. government and a sense of powerlessness is the heritage of Indian youth. The negative image of the adults was illustrated recently when a group of Indians was asked to suggest a scene for a mural which would depict contemporary life on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The reply, said jokingly but still the sole reply, was that the mural should show the bars and drunks in White Clay which is a small just-across-the-border town where the main economic activity is selling liquor to Indians.

Indian adults sometimes characterize Indians as lazy and drunken. The Indian child hears these statements and may then observe this behavior and even though these traits are manifested by a small minority of Indians, it will reinforce the negative image of his ethnic group.

Also the Indian child absorbs a feeling of ethnic inferiority from the attitudes and responses of Whites with whom he comes into contact. Discriminatory practices of Whites towards Indians is especially evident in some of the predominately White communities adjacent to the Reservation.

The educational system must also share the blame. The curriculum has tended to deemphasize or ignore Indian culture and history, but this we are gratified to report is rapidly changing. A teacher with the best of intentions may unconsciously instill inferiority through deprecating an action of the child, an action which is acceptable in the Indian society.

The mass media has often emphasized the negative aspects of Indians by casting them in the roles of "bad guys" who are eventually defeated. This also has been changing within the last few years through more sympathetic portrayals of Indians, but still persists to a certain extent, i.e., making a hero of General Custer in a recent television series.

Results of a Negative Ethnic Image

The Indian teenagers image of their ethnic group is most alarming for a number of reasons. It would seem that many Indian students have accepted a negative stereotype of the Indian; the Indian as being drunken, uneducated and lazy. Given an internalization of this negative stereotype, one could predict that an Indian adolescent might proceed to conform to it.

Equally devastating is that a feeling of ethnic inferiority will lead to underachievement in school, a sense of futility, avoidance of competitive situations, and a reluctance to assume leadership; factors which contribute to feelings of powerlessness, preventing Indians from achieving greater control of their destiny.

In the total process of acculturation, a negative ethnic image on the part of a minority group in a subordinate position may lead to complete assimilation if this is allowed by the dominant culture or may hinder acculturation because of a turning away from the dominant group culture for fear of not being able to compete and/or for fear of loss of ethnic identity which in spite of a negative image may be the only remaining source of strength. We believe the latter process has been operative among the Pine Ridge Indians, that is a negative ethnic image has been an impediment to acculturation. Many are acculturated but a large percentage have resisted certain aspects of acculturation for fear of losing their Indian identity and government benefits and out of fear of competing with the dominant group. As one high school student with high aspirations stated "The Indian is afraid to reach out. I know. I'm a little afraid myself."

Some Suggestions for Achieving a More Positive Ethnic Image

We believe that much can be done to mitigate the negative self-image and to restore a feeling of greater ethnic pride to the Oglalas. We do not mean to suggest that all pride has been lost. That would be misleading. Being Indian is an extremely important source of satisfaction.

It is now up to the government agencies and the Indians themselves to recapture the pride of the Oglalas to its former degree and utilize Indian identity as a positive force for advancement.

This can be done by granting the Indian more real power, rather than just token power, in the political structure. This should, of course, be accompanied by an increase in Indian economic power which would involve creating more meaningful employment opportunities, preferably not directly connected with the government. This would promote feelings of independence and provide achievable goals for Indian youth.

The educational system can contribute through emphasis on Indian culture and history in the curriculum, expectation of high standards of scholastic achievement so that the Indian can compete successfully, avoidance of deprecation of Indian cultural traits, emphasis on individual Indian achievements in various fields (Indians who have achieved success in their vocations could talk to Indian students) and fostering leadership among Indian youth by giving them greater responsibilities.

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Anthropologist

POVERTY, MENTAL HEALTH AND THE SIOUX*

This paper will describe some of the factors which influence the mental health of a population and will focus on the relationship of community services and community problems.

Background

The Pine Ridge Indian Reservation is the home of the Oglala Sioux, one of the largest of the Sioux tribes. It is located in southwestern South Dakota on the Nebraska state line, south of the Badlands and southeast of the Black Hills.

The Indian population of 10,000[1] is spread out over the 4,000 square miles of the Reservation (4/5 the size of Connecticut). Approximately 50% live in small towns and the rest in more isolated areas. The Reservation itself is quite isolated. There is no bus, train or plane service connecting the Reservation with the outside world and there is no public transportation which connects various points on the Reservation. There are small towns which border the Reservation, the nearest being twenty-five miles away. A large shopping center, Rapid City which has a population of 50,000 is 120 miles away. Although, there are 530 miles of roads on the Reservation, only 150 are hard surfaced so that travel is quite difficult in bad weather.

The Reservation and its population are quite poor. Although it might appear that Pine Ridge would have an agricultural economy, actually only 11% of the land is cultivatable. Non-agricultural sources provide twice the amount of cash income that agricultural sources do and employs four times the number of people. The main employers on the Reservation are the government agencies; Bureau of Indian Affairs, Office of Economic Opportunity and the Public Health Service. There is also one small industry, a moccasin factory. However, 37% of the male labor force are unemployed compared with 3% for White men throughout the United States and 6.3% for Nonwhite men.[1]

The Reservation's population is poor in terms of minimal luxuries. Two in every three families have a total yearly income of less than $3,000. This is even more striking when we realize that an Indian household is larger than the average

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*A paper presented September 19, 1968 at the South Dakota Welfare, Health and Rehabilitation Conference at Yankton, South Dakota.

White (5.4 members compared with 3.4) and also that one in three families live on less than $1,000 a year.[1] 60% of the households have electricity and 3% of Indian homes have a telephone. Only 40% of the Indian households have water piped into the house and 24% must haul their water from a creek or use a neighbor's water supply.

There are three government agencies which serve the population - the Office of Economic Opportunity, Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Division of Indian Health of the Public Health Service. The latter two are set up to serve only Indians. The Division of Indian Health is responsible for health matters while the Bureau of Indian Affairs provides services in a number of areas. These include: credit problems, employment assistance and relocation, housing development, land operations, law and order, development and care of roads, resource development, welfare services and also the provisions of education from kindergarten through the twelfth grade. The Director of the Public Health Service Hospital and the Superintendent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs are each responsible to their respective directors in the Area Office (similar to a regional office). The Area Directors are in turn responsible to their director (or commissioner with the Bureau of Indian Affairs) in Washington.

The tribal government is administered by a thirty-two man elected council, presided over by a president. The tribe operates on a yearly budget of approximately $300,000 of which one third is obligated on salaries and expense accounts to the council members.[2] In addition, the Superintendent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs has veto power with regard to tribal decisions. The tribe is dependent on the government funded service agencies - economically, for expertise in providing services, and politically.

The Oglala Sioux were finally settled on the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1878. The last battle of the Indian wars took place at Wounded Knee on the Reservation in 1890 when the United States 7th Cavalry massacred a band of Sioux under Chief Big Foot. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was given responsibility for bringing the Indians into "The mainstream of American Life." However, as the Indian agent changed (the local Reservation Bureau of Indian Affairs Superintendent), Indian policy changed. One agent would recommend, for example, building up cattle herds and the next would encourage selling. The tribe's relation to the government was marked by uncertainty (A Sioux word referring to the White man means, "What will he do next?") and an increasing dependency for food and supplies. With a change in their manner of living and of earning a living, traditional ways of doing things gradually gave way, but often without any value to take its place. Today, the two important groups of Oglala Sioux, the Mixed Bloods and the Full Bloods, show striking differences in their degree of acculturation with the Full Bloods being more traditional.

We have briefly described some of the forces acting on the Oglala Sioux. These include extreme poverty, a rural, isolated geographic area, historical circumstances, and a special relationship with two federal agencies. These are some of the important forces which mold and shape the people - that encourage certain kinds of interactions, certain values and attitudes, certain hopes and needs and fears.

We will comment on some of the effects of these forces on the people.

Influence Of Factors On The People

There are few opportunities for an Oglala Sioux to try out different possible roles for himself even in fantasy. This seems to reflect the poverty, the isolated area and the government historically having taken over the provision of many services. As indicated earlier, the unemployment rate is more than ten times the national average. Moreover, of those employed, 25% are only employed part-time. The cliché that a good job follows a good education does not always hold on the Reservation where one in every four high school graduates are unemployed. However, those with a high school education are more likely to be employed and have the high status jobs. Among those people who are working, almost one in every two have the lowest possible status jobs.[1] The major employers, i.e., those people with power over jobs are Non-Indians. For a person caught in this situation it seems to lead to a point where a job is unimportant, where it has little or no meaning other than getting some money. If money is available through other sources, for example, Welfare, the motivation to work dies. A full-time job then becomes getting through agency red tape. What looks like a problem in dependency to an outside observer may be a rather successful adaptation to very difficult circumstances.[3] This adaptation can of course, become rigidified so that even with a change in circumstances for the better, the person may not be able to take advantage of it.

Adolescents are seriously affected by this situation. Their elders, unable to find a direction for themselves, are powerless to provide one for their kids. An unfortunate interpretation of the situation seems to occur where the adolescent begins to feel that the problem is his own personal problem. He feels, it appears, not just that there are few opportunities to develop his capabilities but that the problem is inside himself; that he is inadequate. The adolescent feels ineffective and powerless at a time in life when he should be feeling as if he could do almost anything. Moreover, in the late adolescent and young adult group there is a pervading sense of not knowing what to do, where to go, what course of action to take. Choices lack a sense of committment, of determination to stick with it, which seems to reflect - hesitancy to take a chance, and a lack of techniques for achieving goals, as well as a depreciated sense of worth. They give the impression of acting as if they were being pushed one way or the other by forces controlled by others and that the direction chosen depends on which force is strongest at the time.

Some adolescents, when asked what they plan to do start to answer by talking about what they won't do - "Well, I'm not going to be a bum or loafer" - This kind of answer indicates how strongly they are drawn to that role and have to fight against it - drawn to it with the idea - if I can't do anything positive, well, at least I can be a good bum. A group of adults, thinking about what kind of scenes to include in a mural, suggested drinking scenes from the border town of White Clay. This depreciated sense of one's worth is a tragedy and reflects their feelings of powerlessness to cope with the forces in their world, and to effect some change in it.

One common observation on the Reservation concerns the impact of people's envy. Envy, of course is the feeling that you've got it better than I do in some way and I want what you have. Envy can have a progressive effect in terms of stimulating me to catch up to where you are. This is what would happen when a person or group feel they have the techniques and the confidence and the power to accomplish what they want. However, all too often the Reservation envy has a leveling influence. Rather than spurring one group to excel the other, it goads the first to try to keep the second group from getting more than the first group has. In other words, envy has a strong leveling influence on the community rather than a progressive influence because this envy stems from a sense of impotence or powerlessness, of being unable to accomplish what you want. This kind of envy is reflected within communities by the intensity of factionalism with whole groups not being willing to work together or even talk together.

It is of interest that in a recent study of a large number of Sioux Indian and White adolescent students by Spilka that the Indians showed a significantly higher degree of powerlessness than did the Whites.

Social Disorganization

Criteria reflecting social disorganization are tragically high. We used to believe that whether or not a Sioux child had both parents present was not important as long as members of the extended family were present. We now know that this is not true - that the presence or absence of the Sioux child's parents is as important as for Non-Indians. It is then all the more striking that 36% of children on the Reservation under the age of 16 have one or both parents missing.[1] (Nationally 12% under 18 have one or both parents missing.)[4] Moreover, 2.5% of Indian children are in foster care.[1] This is about six times the national rates.[4] Also, of this number, almost 20% have been involved with three or more placements.[5] (This is better than the national rate of 28%).[4] This is an important statistic since we know that the chances of a child's becoming emotionally disturbed increases with the number of placements he endures.

The rate of heavy drinking on the Reservation is high. In one year, more than 400 people were arrested three or more times for an offense related to drinking. Approximately 70% were men. In an interesting study of drinking amongst the Navajo, it was found that those drinkers who were least acculturated were helped the most by treatment services.

The rate of suicide attempts is high. 80% occur in women. 60% of all attempts occur in women under the age of twenty and usually involve a wish to change an important relationship.

The juvenile delinquency rate is nine times the national average. The child neglect rate is about 40 children in every 1,000 kids who are 15 or less.

School drop-out rates are high. 70% of those students (now 25 or older) who reached the eighth grade failed to graduate high school. The rate of learning underachievement and reading retardation both appear high.

Up to now we have examined some of the effects on the Indian population of poverty, rural living, historical circumstances, and a special relationship with the government. I will now focus on the relationship between the service giving agencies and the communities. In particular I will emphasize that we have a lot of knowledge related to many of the problems mentioned. We are working hard on trying to solve some of the problems; on others we only appear as if we're doing something. In talking about the agency and the community I will talk about this gap between knowledge and implementation of the knowledge.

First of all, let us look at the issue of power and powerlessness. If Group A is responsible for providing certain services necessary for living to Group B, and there is no other agency providing a similar service so that there is no competition for Group A, then Group B, needing the service becomes dependent on Group A for it. Moreover, if Group B has no say in the kind of service or the manner in which it is provided, in addition to being dependent on Group A for the service, Group B, having no other source to turn to and being treated in an infantile manner, will begin to act in an infantile manner. I mean that over the course of time, Group B will give up any techniques or knowledge they may have possessed in the area where they are receiving service in order to hold on to that service because the only power they now possess in the expression of need or weakness, paradoxical as it may seem. The result is a focal symbiosis or a mutually unhealthy relationship between two people or groups where each needs the other in certain areas in living. In order to maintain the relationship Group B allows Group A to provide a service that Group B could potentially do themselves in order to insure that Group A will not leave. Over the course of time Group A gets to needing Group B also and each side feels strong when related to the other and weak without the other. Group B especially gets to feel they can't function alone. The prospect of termination of services by Group A is frightening and Group B will do everything to hold on to Group A - in direct proportion to whether or not they have any other source of power or autonomy - even to the point of looking as if they can't function at all.

We know then that a situation in which one group of people has little power and needs another group will develop into a focal symbiosis unless the more powerful group shares its power with the first. What are we doing about it on the Reservation, and are we doing enough? I submit that we are not.

Let us look at another issue. It is common knowledge that an exceedingly high percentage of the members of a majority group have prejudicial attitudes toward various minorities.

This prejudice of course need not be gross and most often is reflected in one's inner feelings and thoughts but makes itself known in one's attitudes, in the way one deals with the other group. The most common attitudes reflect feelings of superiority, and that the other person whom we are serving has problems because of his inherent nature, that he's really weak, inadequate, dumb, etc. These attitudes continually color the way we interact with our clients. We know that the prejudicial attitudes of the majority can result in the minority's feeling inadequate, inferior, ineffective and worthless. Are we looking at this question and are we doing enough? I submit that we are not.

We know that family instability increases the chances of mental illness in the family members, especially the children. We know there is a high rate of nuclear family instability among Indians and also, extended family instability. What are we doing to encourage stability and also, what is there about the way we work with individuals and families that encourages family breakdown?

We know there is a relationship between learning underachievement and social class between learning underachievement and delinquency, between learning underachievement and the expectation of the teacher that the child will underachieve. We know there is a relation between reading retardation and low socio-economic class. We know there is a relation between poor foster care, multiple placements and increasingly disturbed children. We know there is a relationship between Aid to Dependent Children families and high rates of delinquency. We know that boarding schools care for thousands of kids, a high percentage of whom are there for social and/or psychological reasons and yet we do not provide adequate treatment services much less adequate substitute parenting services where the dormitory staff-pupil ratio is around 1:30 or more.

Are our traditional ways of doing things working? If they are, in what way are they working? If they're not, why not? Are we aware of the information available in our respective fields which touches on these issues or even information available in our own area or agency? Are we focusing in on these issues and problems? I submit we are not doing enough and I want to suggest some reasons why we are not.

1. We really don't believe it is important to involve the people we are serving in the provision of the service.

We fail to talk with them enough as equals which of course means - our seeing that they have something to contribute to the relationship, and allowing them to make mistakes. Underneath we are afraid of their increasing strength, and assertiveness; we are threatened by it.

2. Our tendency to become mildly depressed and apathetic in the face of repeated setbacks in getting things done. We stop looking at the issues and stop evaluating what we are doing right and what we are doing wrong. Even more important, we stop evaluating what our goals are and their importance.

3. We fail to focus in on the problems by spreading ourselves too thin - we let ourselves become involved in too much minutiae. We allow ourselves to become harried with work, and we use our harried conditions as the excuse which keeps us from doing more essential work. But worse, we get used to being harried, look forward to it and need it. Being harried we don't have to focus in on other problems and who knows, maybe we don't want to, maybe we don't want to change.

Certainly too, our agencies don't always work as well as possible together. Too often we are not task focused, but our energies are concerned with and splintered by lack of communication, agency empire building, red tape and envy.

In conclusion I want to ask if we are all following worthwhile goals and if we keep these goals in mind and are we doing the best job we can in providing services in order to reach these goals? Are we evaluating ourselves and our relationship with those we serve?

Are we aware of and using the knowledge that is available to us? Are we feeling and thinking critically?

And if we are not, when will we?

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(2) Minutes of Oglala Sioux Tribal Council - April-June, 1968.

(3) See also WELLER, J., Yesterday's People.

(4) Statistics obtained from Children's Bureau.

(5) Statistics from Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Welfare.

WHEN THE PEOPLE GATHER

Notes on the Teton Dakota Sun Dance[1]

"Oyate Kawita au cana," an old Lakota story begins... "When the people gather." The people have been gathering for over a week, under the blazing sun they have come to this dusty parched place. They have even come this very night. But the camp conveys a feeling of uneasiness, of apprehension, for with the dawn comes the day. A special day, the day of truth. Today is the day for the fulfillment of vows.

The tourist with his camera, the anthropologist with his notebook, the missionary in white shirt and tie, the young Sioux mother with her lively family, the shriveled old Oglala woman supported by a cane - all have gathered to witness the piercing of the flesh.

It is now dawn, and this great gathering of people is astir.

> The Sun, the Light of the world.
> I hear Him coming.
> I see His face as He comes.
> He makes the beings on earth happy,
> And they rejoice.
> O Wakan-Tanka, I offer to You this world of Light[2]

Preparations for this day were begun many weeks ago. Such a gathering as this cannot be set up overnight. There were wells to be repaired, outhouses to be dug, publicity to be prepared, electricity and public address systems to be strung, and a host of other details that needed attention. The Sioux are no longer a nomadic people living in tipis. Their needs are no longer simple. The luxuries of the last century are today's necessities. Thus outwardly, the Sioux seem much like any rural peoples. But we cannot know what is in their hearts. We can guess that it may be different from what is in ours for their history and our history do not coincide. Rather they clashed head-on. But that was a hundred years ago. By now should they not be concerned with getting ahead and acquiring the possessions that progress has bestowed upon mankind? The answer, of course, is yes. But it is a qualified yes. For it to be otherwise would mean becoming a wasicu or White man, and that cannot be.

1900

The past is not that easily forgotten. And along with memories of the past are values of the past - values which are being taught to the present generation. Many, however, have eroded away, but some still persist such as the old patterns of sharing and sociability.[3] These persistent values are most often manifest in the many native religions, rituals and cults. One of these native rites is the Sun Dance, called by the Sioux wiwanyag wachipi (they dance gazing at the sun).

Until 1883 the Sun Dance was one of the most important annual rites held by the Sioux. At that time its suppression was ordered by the United States government on the grounds that it was barbaric and detrimental to the hoped-for acculturation of these people. Although it was sporadically practiced during the first part of this century, it was not officially sanctioned by the Bureau of Indian Affairs until the 1930's. It was as though the words to this sacred Sun Dance song had been answered:

> Wakan-Tanka, have mercy on us,
> That our people may live![4]

Living to the Sioux, means more than mere existence. It means a way of life with elements that are uniquely Sioux, some that are uniquely "Indian" and some that belong to the dominant society and to all mankind. The Sun Dance fits into all three of these categories. As Leslie Spier showed in 1921, this rite diffused widely throughout the Great Plains,[5] and although many aspects belonged generally to the Sun Dance, others were unique to a certain tribe. Edgar Red Cloud, descendant of Chief Red Cloud, saw parts of the Sun Dance as having certain parallels with Christian symbolism when he said that "the crown our dancers wear is like the crown of thorns that Christ wore. The piercing of the chest once, reminds us that Christ was pierced once while on the cross."

There are numerous other descriptions of the Sun Dance of the Sioux,[6] and while all are similar in some ways, they are different in others. They all agree, however, that the medicine man, or holy man as he is often called, was free to innovate. Pueblo Indian religious practioners did not have this freedom, for their religion's efficacy depended upon execution of prescribed ritual formulas.

Plains Indians were under no such strictures. Their religions have always been more individualistic. Yet it is precisely these allowable changes and innovations which constitute the major argument of Indian and White alike when they label the Sun Dance as a secular affair. "They don't do it like they did in the old days" is a frequently heard phrase. Of course they don't. The Sun Dance, or for that matter most any religious rite, was never done the way it had been done fifty years ago - or even two years ago. Some of the early descriptions mention the colored flags that are placed on the Sun Dance tree. Certain colors were used such as red to represent the light of the rising sun and black to represent the darkness of night. These colors and their meanings are apparently not very important because even the early descriptions are not consistent and of the four times I have seen the Sun Dance, the colors and placement of the flags varied from one year to the next. Thus the most consistent part of the many Sioux rituals is the fact that change has always been present. This is the hardest part to understand by someone accustomed to a European religion.

Religion to the Indian is not the same as it is to the Non-Indians in this country. There are parallels to be sure, but preciseness of ritual formula is not one of them . Some Indian informants have described their Sun Dance as the "Sioux Flesh Circus." It may be, however, that these people are really probing for opinions from the outsider before they commit themselves to saying what they really think. The Sioux are as sensitive to criticism as anyone else and after years of experience of being laughed at and looked down upon for their "different" beliefs it seems perfectly obvious that there would be many protective layers around that which is hidden in their hearts. To know the Sioux takes long-term exposure; you must prove yourself - prove that you are genuinely interested in their problems, their desires, their culture. More importantly, you must be interested in them as people per se, and not as living museum specimens.

Frank Fools Crow, the Sun Dance Chief or Holy Man has often been criticized for accepting money as have the participants and singers who receive very minimal compensation. They are paid enough to cover their expenses for transportation and preparation of items and clothing needed for the dance. Also, the patterns of sharing, as mentioned before, are still important and the larger amount of money that Fools Crow receives ($150.00) is used and distributed among his relatives who provide him with assistance when needed. Contrary to Anglo practices, higher status as an individual is still given on the basis of generosity and not on accumulation of goods and money.

An important way to understand the Sun Dance and its relevance to the modern Sioux is through the actual dance participants. Their reasons for dancing are as varied as their individual backgrounds. One had just completed 100 missions in a jet over the torn fields of Viet Nam. He danced, thankful that he was able to return to the quiet hills of Pine Ridge. Attended by a small boy, he danced with all his heart, his red-painted face glistening in the warm rays of the morning sun. He, as well as every other Sun Dancer, had personal reasons for subjecting himself to the hardships of the dance, but to a man, they danced also for the well-being of all the people.

> A good day has been set upon my forehead as I stand before You, and this brings me closer to You, O Wakan-Tanka. It is Your light which comes with the dawn of the day, and which passes through the heavens. I am standing with my feet upon Your sacred Earth. Be merciful to me, O Great Spirit, that my people may live![7]

One old woman danced for the safety of a son in Viet Nam; a man to fulfill a vow he had taken when his sister was very ill. He had vowed that upon her recovery he would participate in the next four Sun Dances, and would sacrifice himself by being pierced through the breast. Pete Catches, another dedicated and religious man, had his own personal reasons for dancing. Each had his separate intentions, but now they all stood together around the Sun Dance Pole - the sacred cottonwood tree which just two days before had stood in a small thicket along a nearby creek bottom. This tree had a song of its own:

> There was a time when I stood, holy, in the midst of the day.
> There was a time when I stood, holy, recognizing people here and there.
> There was a time, when I stood, holy, in the center of the camp circle in the tribe.[8]

This sacred pole, symbolic center of the universe, would receive the attention of all gathered as it tried to restrain the violent pulling of the men linked to it through rawhide ropes. The men in turn would try to break through their bonds of ignorance represented by their skewered flesh.

Before straining against these earthly ties, the devotees leaned heavily on the tree, gathering strength for the ordeal to come. We can almost hear them as they pray:

> Great Mystery, turn your eyes earthward
> and look on me pityingly and aid me.[9]

Testing their bonds, gently at first, they strained and pulled backwards until their flesh was visibly distended. Some broke through by steadily increasing pressure, while others hurled themselves backwards so violently that when they broke away, they almost lost their balance.

Of all the dancers, Pete Catches appeared to be the most unwavering in his devotion to this sacred rite. He never looked for crowd support as some others may have; he kept up a steady hard dance pace at all times while maintaining a constant gaze to the heavens. During intermissions he remained quiet and outside the conversational groups of the other dancers. He seemed to be in constant meditation with things religious. He had a raptured look on his face when he danced, but it was always in a humble and unassuming manner.

Seeing this one man among all others was sufficient to know that no matter how many electric water fountains were installed within the arbor,no matter how much the dancers were paid, no matter how many critical comments concerning the religiosity of the Sun Dance were made by tourist and Indian alike - here was a Sioux who lived in the true sense of the word, who transcended ordinary earthly bounds, who lived and felt his religion - in his heart.

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NOTES

(1) The 1968 Sun Dance was the fourth the author has witnessed since 1960. The purpose of this year's visit was to make an interpretive color sound film of the Sun Dance rituals. It is scheduled for completion sometime in the early part of 1969.

(2) Brown 1953:83

(3) Malan and Jesser 1959:59

(4) Brown 1953:70

(5) Spier 1921

(6) Brown 1953, Curtis 1908, Deloria 1929, Densmore 1918, Dorsey 1894, Feraca 1963, Fletcher 1882, Macgregor 1946 and Walker 1917 have all written accounts of the Sioux Sun Dance.

(7) Brown 1953:93

(8) Deloria 1929:397

(9) Deloria 1929:393

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Senator **Kennedy** of New York. At this time I want to thank every one who has contributed their time and effort to make this hearing possible. It was an honor to come here to South Dakota and observe the real problems first hand. Again I want to thank all of you for your contribution.

The hearing now stands recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, the meeting was adjourned subject to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)